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A CRITICAL TRANSLATION AND EVALUATION OF THE NUCLEUS OF THE 1536 EDITION OF CALVIN'S *INSTITUTES*

by

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This Work Is Dedicated To
MY WIFE
of whom it may truly be said:
"procul, et de ultimis finibus
pretium eius."

SYMBOLS USED IN THIS DISSERTATION

Barth, *Joannis Calvini Opera Selecta*, Ediderunt Petrus Barth & Guilelmus Niesel.

C.R. *Corpus Reformatorum*.[1]

P.G. *Patrologia Graeca*.

P.L. *Patrologia Latina*.

Werke, *Luthers Werke*, Weimar edition.

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[1] It should be noted that the references in this work are to the volumes in the respective series, and not to the *opera* of the individual authorities.

PREFACE

The contents of this dissertation are indicated in the title of the work. The thesis falls into three clearly defined divisions. Part One deals with literary matters. Here the important question of what constitutes the nucleus of the first edition is raised. The question is answered by analysing the structure of the *editio princeps* of the *Institutio*. After dealing with this subject, other queries press forward. What is the value of the texts of the 1536 edition of the *Institutes*? Are existing translations dependable? What sources did Calvin employ in writing this edition? These questions, being of a literary nature, are dealt with in Part One of this work.

Part Two is devoted to the translation, together with footnotes justifying or elucidating the translation. It is the literary-theological section of the dissertation. Which of these two aspects of the work predominates in the mind of the reader will depend upon his purpose in reading the translation. If the reader is only interested in this text as a translation of an old document, then he will read it from a literary point of view. If, however, the aim of the reader is to discover what Calvin thought about specific theological problems in 1535, then he will study the work from a theological point of view. There is, of course, always the possibility that some will read the work from both points of view.

Part Three of the dissertation is theological in character. It is an attempt to present an evaluation of

Calvin's theology as it appears in Part Two of this work. The major problem confronting the writer in this section was that of selection. There was no point in simply paraphrasing Part Two. There was little point in summarising it. It was necessary, therefore, to eliminate much interesting material, and to select a few illustrations to prove the assertions which are made in this final section. Part Three does not give a complete theological portrait of young Calvin. It does, however, present the main features of any such portrait.

I wish to take this opportunity to express my sincere thanks to those who made this work possible:

To the administration of Princeton Theological Seminary for giving me the privilege of studying at this institution. The seven years spent on the campus have been among the most profitable of my life.

To the staff of the Seminary Library for their willingness to help at all times. A special word of thanks is due to Dr. Kenneth S. Gapp for his advice and assistance. He saved me many hours of fruitless labour.

To the members, both present and past, of the Department of Theology for their instruction during the years of undergraduate and graduate studies.

To Professor Georges A. Barrois who directed my research. Without his continued patience, rigid requirements, and valued counsel, this work would never have been completed in its present form.

DEO GRATIAS.

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PART ONE

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER ONE

THE STRUCTURE OF THE [illegible]

The first problem which must be dealt with in this introduction is the structure of the [illegible] of the [illegible]. For the sake of clarity this chapter will be divided into three sections. First, something will be said about the external structure of the entire text. Secondly, the structural relationships of the component chapters will be discussed. Finally, the internal structure of the first three chapters will be studied.

Two objections may be raised here. First, [illegible] to limit this study to an analysis of the first three chapters of the [illegible] is arbitrary and [illegible] a [illegible] on the part of the [illegible] of this dissertation [illegible]

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Chapter One

THE STRUCTURE OF THE FIRST EDITION

The first problem which must be dealt with in this Introduction is the structure of the 1536 edition of the Institutes. For the sake of clarity this chapter will be divided into three sections. First, something will be said about the external structure of the entire text. Second, the structural relationships of the component chapters will be discussed. Finally, the internal structure of the first three chapters will be treated.

Two objections may be raised here. First, it may be urged that to limit this study to an analysis of the first three chapters of the editio princeps is arbitrary and represents a prejudice on the part of the author of this dissertation. It may be asked, Why not study the last three chapters? It will suffice to say here that this chapter, "The Structure of the First Edition," was written after a study of the six chapters of the first edition had been undertaken. This means that the isolation of De lege, De fide et De oratione for detailed study was not based upon a prejudice; it was motivated by a conviction, a persuasion which will be explained later. Second, it may be argued that even if there is reason for isolating the first three chapters of the editio princeps, still the internal structure of all the chapters should be explained. Clearly, this should be done--but not in this dissertation. This study is limited to a study of the nucleus of Calvin's first edition of the Institutes.

I The External Structure of the Institutes

The external structure of the Institutes is clear. The work is divided into six chapters of unequal length. The first three chapters comprise about one third of the entire text. The longest chapter in the book is that which deals with the false sacraments, namely, the fifth. The plan of the editio princeps is as follows: Chapter One deals with the Law and contains an exposition of the Ten Commandments. This is the longest chapter among the first three. It is sixty pages in length. Chapter Two contains an explanation of what faith is and a discussion of the Apostles' Creed. This chapter is fifty six pages long. The third chapter is entitled, "On Prayer, together with an explanation of the Lord's Prayer." This chapter takes up forty four pages. Chapter Four is an exposition of the Sacraments, and it is the shortest chapter of the last three, being eighty four pages long. Chapter Five, "On the False Sacraments," is one hundred and fifteen pages in length. The last chapter deals with three distinct, yet related subjects, namely, Christian liberty, ecclesiastical power and political administration, and is one hundred and fifteen pages long.

The six chapter titles are as follows:

l. Concerning the Law, which contains an exposition of the Decalogue.

ll. Concerning Faith, together with an explanation of the so-called Apostles' Creed.

lll. Concerning Prayer, together with an explanation of the Lord's Prayer.

IV. Concerning the Sacraments, Baptism and the Lord's Supper.

V. It is declared that the other five are not sacraments, which up till now have been held by the common people as sacraments. It is then shown what they are.

VI. Concerning Christian Liberty, ecclesiastical power and political administration.

From the above it is clear that the 1536 edition of the Institutes Calvin deals with seven topics, to wit, the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer, the Sacraments, Christian Liberty, Ecclesiastical Power and Political Administration. It soon becomes apparent, however, to the reader of this first edition that Calvin deals with other topics. Nevertheless, it is true to say that the work is divided into six chapters, and that the reformer deals with seven topics of major importance.

II The Structural Relationships of the First Edition of the Institutes.

A. The Nucleus of the First Edition

1. Statement of the Question.

The 1536 edition of the Institutes, then, is divided into six chapters. The question which now arises is this: Do these six chapters intrinsically belong together? Or, to put the question in another way, Is it possible to distinguish more than one structural unit in this work? This is the question of the structural relationships of the six chapters.

2. Status of Answers to the Question

In attempting to answer this question, the first point to note is that competent scholarship affirms that the six chapters do not intrinsically belong together. It is agreed that there are two structural units in this edition.

The editors of the *Corpus Reformatorum*, Guilielmus Baum, Eduardus Cunitz and Eduardus Reuss, were the first scholars to affirm that the six chapters of the *editio princeps* do not belong together. They affirm that the first four chapters are of a catechetical nature, and that the last two belong to polemic and apologetic literature respectively. They affirm that the first redaction of the six chapters was made in France. Still, they allow that the entire work was probably revised in Basel.[1] In support of this view, they cite the reformer's own words from his Preface to the Psalms: "Haec mihi edendae Institutionis causa fuit..."[2] The French edition of the Preface reads, "Et ce fut la cause qui m'incita à publier mon Institution..."[3] They also quote the words of Beza in favour of their thesis, "Hoc vero deducus verae religioni inustum non ferens Calvinus eius edendi libri occasionem arripuit."[4] The editors of the *Opera* emphasize the fact that Calvin and Beza used the verb "edo" and not "conscribero." They also point out that in the French edition of the Preface the word "publier" is employed. They conclude from this evidence that if the *Institutes* had been recently composed in Basel, neither Calvin nor Beza would have merely spoken of its publication.

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[1] *Corpus Reformatorum*, 30, ediderunt Guilielmus Baum, Eduardus Cunitz & Eduardus Reuss (Brunsvigae Apud C. A. Schwetschke et Filium), 1863, p. xiv.

[2] "This was the consideration which induced me to publish my *Institute*. Ibid, p. xiii. Cf. also volume 59, p. 23.

[3] "This was the consideration which induced me to publish my *Institute*. Ibid, Cf. 59, p. 24

[4] "Calvin not submitting to such a stigma fixed upon the true religion seized the opportunity to publish his book...". Ibid. 49, p. 125

Emile Doumergue, an outstanding Calvinist scholar, author of the monumental work, *Jean Calvin*, follows the editors of the *Opera* as far as the nucleus of the *editio princeps* is concerned. He states that the first four chapters of the *Institutes* contain "les matières ordinaires des Catéchismes: la Loi, la Foi, la Prière et les Sacrements."[1] He continues thus: "But to this first part, we may say, composed of four chapters, Calvin has added the second part composed of chapter V, more polemical, against the false sacraments of Catholicism, and of chapter VI, more apologetic, on Christian liberty, ecclesiastical power and political power."[2] Doumergue, then, argues that the first edition of the *Institutes* contains two units: The first four chapters intrinsically belong together by virtue of the catechetical nature of their subject matter; the last two chapters, one of which is polemical and the other apologetical, were added.

Doumergue arrives at this conclusion after studying the *Institutes* in the light of the opening words of the *Epistola ad Franciscum I*, and after an analysis of the contents of the six chapters. From his study of the *Epistola* he affirms two things: First, Calvin, when he began to write the Institutes, did not have in mind what we now call the 1536 edition. Second, from his analysis of the subject matter of the first edition, he concludes that the first four chapters belong to catechetical literature. These chapters, then, are what Calvin had in mind when he first began to write this theological tract. The last two chapters were added on account of the persecutions in France. According to Doumergue, then, the first four chapters constitute the nucleus of the Institutes.

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[1] Emile Doumergue, *Jean Calvin*, IV, (Lausanne: Georges Bridel et Cie Editeurs), 1899, p. 2.

[2] Ibid. Doumergue here follows the authors of the *Calvini Opera*. Cf., the Corpus Reformatorum, XXIX, p. xxxi.

As regards the place of writing, Doumergue affirms that the first four chapters were written at Angoulême, and the last two at Basel. He cannot believe that Calvin wrote the entire work at Basel, since this would mean that the reformer wrote five hundred and twenty pages in six months.[1]

Peter Barth, another Calvin scholar, agrees substantially with Doumergue's analysis. He notes that Calvin did not have time to write the entire work from the time of the French Court's accusation in February of 1535. Barth affirms that Calvin wrote the first four chapters, those on the rudiments of the Christian faith, during the four tranquil months which he spent at Angoulême at the beginning of 1534. The last two chapters were written at Basel.[2]

The editors of the Opera, Doumergue and Barth, then, agree that the first four chapters of the first edition of the

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[1] Ibid, I, 595.

[2] Joannis Calvini Opera Selecta, edidit Petrus Barth, Vol. 1, (Munich: Christian Kaiser), 1926, p. 13.

Institutes belong together. For them, these chapters constitute the nucleus of the Institutes, but here their agreement ends. The editors of the Opera affirm that the entire work was written in France and probably revised in Basel. Doumergue and Barth, however, affirm that the first four chapters were written in France, and the last two in Basel. The point upon which they disagree is a minor one. Doumergue believes that the addition was occasioned by the persecutions at the end of 1534. Barth affirms that it was the result of the attempt of the French Court in February of 1535 to identify the French Protestant with the Anabaptists.

Williston Walker agrees with the editors of the Opera, Doumergue and Barth that there is a difference between the first part and the second section of the Institutes, but he disagrees with them as regards which chapters belong to the first part and which pertain to the latter section. He writes:

> "Between the first three chapters and their successors a certain difference of style and atmosphere may also be noted. The earlier portion is less polemic, more simple and calm; while the closing chapters are more vivacious and controversial and reflect more strongly the heat of the quarrel with the ancient Church."[1]

According to Walker, then, the first three chapters belong to one unit and the second three pertain to the second part.

Walker also agrees with Doumergue and Barth that Calvin began to write the Institutes in Angoulême. He is not willing, however, to state how much progress the reformer had made before he left for Basel. Indeed, he is of the opinion that it is impossible to make a decision.[1]

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[1] Williston Walker, John Calvin (New York: Putnam's Sons), 1906, p. 137.

Before passing on to evaluate these views, it may be well to summarize what scholars have affirmed about the structural relationships between the six chapters of the 1536 edition of the Institutes.

(1) All agree that there are two units in the text. The editors of the Opera, Doumergue and Barth affirm that the first four chapters compose one unit. Walker maintains that the first three chapters belong together. The former view is based on the catechetical nature of the chapters which unifies them. The latter thesis is maintained because of the difference in style between the first three chapters and their successors. Doumergue and Barth imply that the first four chapters constitute the nucleus of the first edition. The views of the editors of the Opera and Walker do not involve any idea of an original nucleus to which other chapters were added.

(2) The editors of the Opera affirm that the complete text was written in France, and revised in Basel. Doumergue and Barth maintain that the first four chapters were written in Angoulême and the last two in Basel. Walker believes that it is impossible to decided which parts were written in France and Basel.

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[1] Williston Walker, John Calvin (New York: Putnam's Sons), 1906, p. 111

(3) All agree that the publication of the work was occasioned by the persecution of Protestants in France. Barth is the most precise. He states that the attempt of the French curia to identify the Protestants of France with the German Anabaptists moved Calvin to publish his Institutes.

An Evaluation of These Views

What is to be said about these theses? The editors of the Opera, Doumergue and Barth, while they affirm that the first four chapters form a unit by virtue of the catechetical nature of their subject matter, present no evidence that the Decalogue, the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Sacraments constituted the subject matter of catechetical instruction in the Church. Barth, it will be remembered, equates the first four chapters of the Institutes with the "rudimenta" mentioned in the opening words of Calvin's Epistola ad Franciscum I,[1] but he does not give any evidence to show that this equation is legitimate. And here the argument of the editors of the Opera, Doumergue and Barth is weak.

This does not mean that we reject outright the affirmation that the Decalogue, Creed, Lord's Prayer and Sacraments formed the basis for catechetical instruction in the Church. We require evidence, however. The question which Barth should have asked, and which we must ask, is this, What did the term "rudimenta" mean in the early sixteenth century?

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[1] Barth, op. cit., I, p. 21.

We are fortunate in having in the Seminary Library a Greek book which bears the Latin title, *Rudimenta Fidei Christianae*.[1] The tome was published in the house of Robert Stephanus in the year 1551.[2] An examination of this work indicates what was probably meant by the vocable "rudimenta" in the *editio princeps* of the *Institutes*. The books contains the following divisions: *Περι Πιστεως*, *Περι των Δεκα Εντολων*, *Περι Προσευχης* *Περι του Λογου του Θεου* and *Περι Μυστηριων*. The section on *Περι του Λογου του Θεου* is insignificant when compared with the other chapters. In effect, the work has four major divisions, *De fide*, *De lege*, *De oratione* and *De Sacramentis*. It is, therefore, quite possible that Calvin had this kind of division in mind when he wrote to the king in 1535 that he had at first intended to write on the fundamentals of the faith. This evidence, then, supports the thesis of Doumergue and Barth.

If we accept, even tentatively, the above thesis, then we must reject Walker's affirmation that the two units consist of three chapters in each unit. His conclusion is reached after studying the style and atmosphere of the entire work. He says of the first three chapters, "The earlier portion is less polemic, more simple and calm."[3] It is difficult to accept this affirmation, however, after reading the chapters in question. Calvin is vitriolic in parts of *De lege*. On the other hand, chapter six is "simple and calm" in comparison to chapter five. We maintain, therefore, that the evidence on hand does not support Walker's thesis.

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[1] ______, *Rudimenta Fidei Christianae*, "Printed in the House of Robert Stephanus, 1551. (Translated by the author).

[2] Dr. Kenneth S. Gapp, Librarian of Princeton Seminary, agrees that this work is an *editio princeps* of Calvin's *Rudimenta Fidei Christianae*.

[3] Walker, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

As regards the place of writing, it is a well known fact that in the middle of the seventeenth century Florimond de Raemond wrote that:

> "Angoulême was the forge where this new Vulcan beat out the strange opinions which he afterwards published; for it was there that he wove to the astonishment of Christendom the fabric of his _Institutes_, which may be called the Koran or rather the Talmud of heresy..."[1]

This historian, as the editors of the _Opera_ point out, must be taken _cum grano salis_. For example the assertion of De Raemond that Calvin spent three years at Angoulême is false. Again, de Raemond seems to be under the impression that Calvin wrote what we know as the final edition of the _Institutes_ at Angoulême. Nevertheless, there is no reason to doubt his assertion that Calvin wrote the _Institutes_ at Angoulême, if by this we mean that he wrote either the first draft of the 1536 edition or part of this edition there.

Barth again is more precise than Doumergue. He affirms that the first four chapters were written during the first four tranquil months which Calvin spent at Angoulême at the beginning of 1534.[2] Following Raemond,[3] he also maintains that the reformer had use of the "amplissima~~e~~ bibliotheca" of Tillet.[4] The last two chapters according to Doumergue and Barth were written at Basel.

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[1] Florimond de Raemond, _Histoire de la Naissance, Progrez et Décadence de l'Hérésie de Ce Siècle_, (Rouen: David Ferrand), 1648, p. 883.

[2] Barth, I, p. 13.

[3] Raemond, _op. cit._, p. 885.

[4] Barth, _op. cit._

But, it will be recalled that the editors of the *Opera*, affirm that the entire work was written in France and then revised in Basel. If we admit Barth's thesis that the last two chapters were occasioned by an event which took place in February of 1535, then it is clear that Calvin could not have written the entire book in France. We shall now have to examine Barth's thesis a little more carefully. He, in agreement with Doumergue, interprets the opening words of the *Epistola*, "Cum huic operi manum primum admoverem, nihil minus cogitabam, Rex clarissime, quam scribere quae Maiestati tuae offerentur,"[1] to mean that Calvin had written certain chapters of what is now called the 1536 edition, before he decided to send the work to the king. In other terms, Calvin had written a catechism to which he added other material in order to send to the king an *apologia*. The question which arises here is this: Agreed that the Doumergue-Barth interpretation of the above sentence is legitimate, is it the only possible exegesis? Cannot the sentence be interpreted to mean this: Calvin wrote a book while he was in France. He composed the work for French Protestants. He had no intention of sending it to his king. Then came the persecutions of his fellow-religionists. As a result of this oppression Calvin rewrote his book with the express intention of sending it to his monarch. In this case, the thesis of the editors of the *Opera* fits the facts. Therefore, on the basis of the evidence at hand, we have to tentatively conclude with Walker that it is impossible to decide where the final text of the 1536 edition was written.

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[1] "When I first put my hand to this work, nothing was further from my thoughts, than to write what should afterwards be presented to your majesty." Barth, I, p. 21.

As regards the publication of the first edition, we agree with Barth that it was occasioned by the attempt of the French Court to identify the French Protestants with the German Anabaptists. Therefore, this matter need not be pursued any further.

3. A New Approach to the Question

Argument

We have tentatively agreed that the nucleus of the first edition is composed of De lege, De fide, De Oratione et De Sacramentis. But, Can we do no more than make a tentative identification? In the light of new evidence we maintain that this is possible. This new evidence is found in the Opera Selecta, edited by Barth and published in 1926. It is clear that this new information was not used by Barth to rethink the problem of the nucleus of the first edition, although he provided it. The evidence consists in the reformer's sources which Barth indicated in the footnotes of his edition of the Institutes. This evidence must now be taken into account.

After a cursory study of the first edition it is obvious that there is a difference between De sacramentis, De falsis sacramentis and the rest of the work. The dissimilarity manifests itself primarily in Calvin's use of sources. In De lege he quotes Origen once,[1] Augustine twice,[2] and the unknown author of the *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum* once.[1] In *De fide* there is no quotation of sources. In *De oratione* he cites one authority, Ambrose.[2] In the sixth chapter he refers directly to one Father, Eusebius. Thus, in four chapters of the *Institutes* there are six quotations from the Fathers. He cites Origen, Ambrose, Augustine, Eusebius and an unknown author. It should also be noted that one of his references to Augustine is a mistake, and his quotation of the *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum* is an error.

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[1] Infra, p.94 l.22.

[2] Infra, p.95 l.3 + p.121, line 6 f.

On the other hand, references to patristic authorities abound in chapters four and five. In *De sacramentis* Augustine is mentioned nine times; Calvin gives the references in six instances. Cyprian is cited three times. The reformer also quotes Eusebius, Cassiodorus, Chrysostom and Tertullian. In *De falsis sacramentis* there are even more direct references to patristic sources. Augustine is quoted nine times. The *Decretum Gratiani* is cited fourteen times. Calvin makes direct reference to Lombard's *Sentences,* IV eighteen times. Besides these, the works of Bartholomeo Platina, Cassiodorus, Theophylactus Bulgar and Virgil are mentioned. Thus, patristic authorities are cited sixty one times, and there is one reference to a classical author.

This usage of sources raises the question, Why did Calvin cite the Fathers six times in four chapters of his work and sixty two times in two chapters? It may be answered that the reformer employed patristic sources only when he was engaged in controversy. In support of this view is the fact that he quotes the Fathers with most frequency in *De falsis sacramentis*, which is the most polemical part of the book.

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[1] *Infra*, p. 95 l. 8

[2] *Infra*, p 220 l. 24 f.

But, if the reformer used patristic authorities only when he was involved in controversy, Why did he not employ them in his discussion of the second commandment in *De lege*?[1] In this section he is most certainly engaged in polemics. Again, his doctrine of the Church in *De fide* is decidedly not that of his contricants, yet he does not cite any authority in support of it. These two examples suffice to indicate that in the first two chapters of the *Institutes* Calvin is involved in polemics, yet does not quote patristic sources in support of his views. Therefore, the argument that the reformer used patristic sources only when he was involved in controversy falls to the ground. Why, then, did Calvin use the Fathers in certain chapters, of his work and not in others? The simplest reply to this query is that the reformer employed them when he had them at hand. This means that Calvin did not make use of a good *theological* library when he wrote chapters one, two, three and six of the first edition. This theory gains ground when the later editions of the Institutes are checked. When Calvin rewrote many of these sections he found authorities, both ecclesiastical and classical, to quote in favour of his views. This hypothesis also explains why the reformer quoted the wrong work of Augustine in *De lege*, and in the same chapter mistakenly referred to the *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum*. He was quoting the authorities from memory.

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[1] There is no doubt that there was a good theological library at Calvin's disposal. In 1135 the Cathedral at Angoulême possessed books by the following authors: Gregory, Augustine, Ambrose, Hilary, Isodorus, Cyprian, Gregory Nazianzenus, Origen,

It is, therefore, affirmed that Calvin wrote chapters one, two, three and six at the same time. It is clear, however, that these four chapters do not intrinsically belong together. But, as the editors of the *Opera*, Doumergue and Barth point out, the first three chapters do pertain to the same kind of literature, namely, to catechetical literature.[1]

Jerome, Brunus, Bede, Boethius, Paschasius, Sidius and "historiam parvum et historiam Iulii Caesaris, scripta Tulli..." *Historia pontificum et comitum Engolismensis in Labbei Novae bibliothecae*, tom. II (Paris 1657) 261, quoted in *Catalogi bibliothecarum antiqui* collegit Gustavus Becker (Bonnae apud Max Cohen et Filium), 1885. There is, however, no evidence that Calvin made any use of this or of any other theological library at this time. If he had used the Church Fathers he would have found many authorities to quote against the use of images in the churches. Cf. the following. Irenaeus, "Gnosticos se autem vocanti: et imagines quasdam quidem depictas, quasdam autem et de reliquuia materia fabricatas habent, decentes forman Christ factam a Pilato, illo in tempore quo fuit Jesus cum hominibus. Et has coronant..." Contra Haereses, Lib. 1, cap xxv, 6. (PG 7, 685). See also Clement of Alexandria, *Admon ad Gent*, iv; Minucius Felix, *Octavius*, 29; Tertullian, *de Idol*, cap. 3; Origen, *Contra Celsum*, vi, 14; vii,44; viii, 17; Lactancius, *Div. Inst.*, ii, 19; Eusebius, *Epistola ad Constantiam*;Epiphanius, Jerome's *Epist.*, 51,9; Ambrose, *De Obit. Theodos.*, *Epist*. xviii *ad Valentinus*; Augustine, *Enarr. en Salmo* 97,9 and Serenus in Gregory the Great's *Epistola* vii, ii, 3; ix, iv,9. In 305 the Council of Elvira decreed "Ne picturae in ecclesia fiant. Placuit picturas in ecclesia esse non debere, ne quod colitur et adorantur in parietibus depingatur..." Canon 36, Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum* (Paris edition), vol. 2, 11. The Council of Constantinople in 754 made a similar decree.

[1] Calvin's contemporaries spoke of the *Institutes* as if it were a catechism. Cf. Herminjard, *Correspondance*, IV, p. 23 f.n. 9. The reformer himself in a letter to Antoine Pignet, written on October 1, 1538 speaks of "Catechismi nostri editio." Herminjard, V, p. 134. Herminjard affirms that this refers to the first edition of the *Institutes*. Ibid, f.n. 17.

In support of the argument that the first three chapters of the Institutes belong together is the fact that it was the custom of the clergy to instruct the laity and to write on these three topics. The evidence is clear.

Zeno, bishop of Verona (ob. 380), composed a simple exposition of De Spe, Fide et Charitate,[1] in which he taught that love means keeping the commandments. A few years later, Augustine (ob. 430) wrote his Enchiridion,[2] which is a discussion of faith, hope and love. In the section on faith (ix-cxiii) he explains the Apostles' Creed. The chapters which deal with hope (cxiv-cxvi) are an exposition of the Lord's Prayer. And in his treatment of love (cxvii-cxxii) he agrees with Zeno that love is the end of the commandments and the fulfilment of the law. Rabanus Maurus (ob. 856), in his De Fide, Spe et Charitate,[3] is the first teacher to expound love by means of the Ten Commandments. Aquinas in his preface to his Compendium Theologicae ad Fratrem Reginaldum explains that he intends to write upon Fides, Spes et Charitas. He died, however, after working on Faith and hope. In his treatment of faith he discusses the Apostles' Creed, and in his exposition of love he explains the Lord's Prayer. It is most probable that if he had completed the work he would have explained charity in terms of the Ten Commandments.[4]

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[1] Zeno, Tractatus II. Migne, P. L. 11, p. 270.

[2] Augustine, Enchiridion, Migne, P. L. 40, 231ff.

[3] Rabanus Maurus, Homily XLV. Migne, P. L. 110, 83.

[4] Cf. Opusculum I, Sancti Thomae Aquinatis Opera Omnia, Tom. XVI, p. 1. Parma Edition, 1865.

In the High Middle Ages the identification of _fides_, _spes_, and _charitas_ with the Apostles' Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments was complete.

In 1536, the year in which Calvin published his _Institutes_, a royal injunction ordered the parish priests in England to teach their people, sentence by sentence, the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments.[1] This arrangement, Creed, Lord's Prayer and Decalogue, was, then, the traditional order of instruction in the Catholic Church.

The Protestant Reformation, although it instigated many changes in Church doctrine and ecclesiastical order, did not alter the subject matter for catechetical instruction. Luther, for example, in 1520 wrote his _Eine kurze Form der zehn Gebote, eine kurze Form des Glaubens, eine kurze Form des Vaterunsers_. This arrangement, Decalogue, Creed, Lord's Prayer, became the traditional order in the Lutheran Church.[2]

There is no doubt that for Luther the three parts of his first catechetical work intrinsically belonged together. He wrote in the Preface of the above mentioned work:

> "Three things a man needs to know in order to be saved. First, he must know what he ought to do and what he ought not to do. Second, when he finds that by his own strength he can neither do the things he ought, nor leave undone the things he ought not to do, he must know where to seek and find and get the strength he needs. Third, he must know how to seek and get this strength...In like manner, the Commandments teach a man to know his illness, so that he feels and sees what he can do and

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[1] Daniel Evans, _The Prayer Book: Its History, Language, and Contents_. (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton & Co, Ltd), 1905, p. 441.

[2] Cf. G. Kawerau, _Zwei alteste Katechismen der lutherischen Reformation_, (Halle: Max Niemeyer), 1891.

> what he cannot do, what he can and what he cannot leave undone, and thus knows himself to be a sinner and a wicked man. After that the Creed shows him and teaches him where he may find the remedy...In the third place, the Lord's Prayer teaches him how to ask for this grace, get it, and take it to himself... These are the three chief things in all the Scriptures."[1]

This quotation concludes our evidence from history that De lege, De fide et De oratione were the customary subjects for catechetical instruction.

Thesis

On the basis of the ground which has been covered it will now be possible to state clearly our thesis. It is this: The nucleus of the first edition of the Institutes consists of the first three chapters. Before leaving this point it may be well to state again the evidence upon which we base this thesis. It is as follows:

(1) From a study of Calvin's use of patristic authorities it is clear that the reformer wrote these chapters (the sixth as well) when he did not make use of the Church Fathers.

(2) It was customary in the pre-Reformation Church to write treatise on and instruct the laity on the Creed, the Lord's Prayer and the Decalogue.

(3) The oldest Protestant catechisms deal with the Decalogue, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, which in the eyes of Luther comprised the three chief thing in all the Scripture.

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[1] Luthers Werke, VII, (Weimar: Hermann Bohlaus Nachfolger), 1897, p. 204f.

B. The Structure of the First Edition

Having isolated the nucleus of the first edition, it will now be possible to deal with the structural relationships of the entire book.

1. The First Unit. The Nucleus

One unit is composed of the first three chapters of the work. This section is unified by the nature of its subject matter, namely, catechetical. We agree with Doumergue and Barth that this unit was written at Angoulême in 1534. It is clear that it was not written before, since at the end of 1533 Calvin had to flee from Paris and all his papers were seized.[1] At Angoulême, in the home of Louis du Tillet, the reformer found time for study and reflection. Here, according to Florimond de Raemond, he had the use of a remarkable library of three or four thousand manuscripts and printed books.[2] We, however, have not found any evidence that he made any use of this library.

But, are the chapters in the first edition identical with the work which he wrote at Angouleme? There is, of course, no positive proof either way. The words of Calvin to the King, "Cum huic operi manum primum admoverem, nihil minus cogitabam, Rex clarissime, quam scribere quae Maiestati tuae offerentur," suggest that the reformer would at least polish what he had written before sending it to the king. If this suggestion be accepted as a working hypothesis, then we may ask, What was it that Calvin wrote at Angoulême?

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[1] Colladon writes: "Saisit (Bailly Morin) tout ce qui il peut de ses livres et papiers: entre lesquels estans plusiers lettres de ses amis." C.R. 49, 56. Beza's account, however, is slightly different: "deprehensis inter schedas multis amicorum litteris." Ibid. p. 123.

[2] Florimond de Raemond, op. cit., p. 885.

We know from Beza that Calvin wrote Evangelical sermons for members of the clergy who were interested in the movement for reform.[1] These homilies, as far as we know, are not extant. Beveridge, however, a Calvinist scholar, believes that these sermons may be identical with parts of the first three chapters of the Institutes. He writes:

> "At the request of a friend he wrote what Beza calls 'Breves Admonitiones Christianas' - Brief Christian Admonitions, to be read to the neighbouring congregations, with the view of gradually alluring them to the knowledge of the truth. None of these Christian admonitions are now extant, but they are deserving of particular notice here, as having, not improbably, suggested the idea, perhaps formed the ground work, of the Christian Institutes...On the other hand, on looking at the work in its original form, and perusing the simple exposition which it gives of the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer, and the Creed, the separate articles of which are often disposed of in a few sentences, one is forcibly struck with the idea, that these might have admirably served the purpose, so they may, in fact, be identical with some of the Brief Christian Admonitions."[2]

We affirm that these sermons were edited by Calvin with the express purpose of publishing them as a catechism. In support of this view we quote Calvin's own words from the Epistola:

> "And so I sweated out this work chiefly for our French people, of whom I saw that multitudes hungered and thirsted for Christ, but very few had been instructed in the ordinary knowledge of him."[3]

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[1] Beza, Ioannis Calvini Vita, II, in C.R. 49, 123.

[2] The Institutes of the Christian Religion. Trans. by Henry Beveridge, Vol. I, (Edinburgh: Printed for the Calvin Translation Society), 1845, p. vi.

[3] Barth, I, p. 13.

The work referred to here is the Rudimenta which was discussed above. Before commenting upon this statement, it may be well to compare it with Luther's affirmation in his Shorter Catechism.

> "The deplorable, miserable condition which I discovered lately when I, too, was a visitor, has forced me to prepare (publish) this Catechism, or Christian doctrine, in this small, plain, simple form. Mercy! Good God! what manifold misery I beheld! The common people, especially in the villages, have no knowledge whatever of Christian doctrine..."[1]

Luther's Shorter Catechism, then, was occasioned by the ignorance of the common people. Just as the ignorance of the common people in Germany moved Luther to write a catechism, so the ignorance of the French masses prompted Calvin to compose a treatise on the Decalogue, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.

The quotation from the Epistola indicates the place where this catechism was written - France, where Calvin saw his compatriots hungering and thirsting for Christ. This means that the original document was written in French. It would have been useless for Calvin to write sermons for the common people in Latin. It would have been equally senseless to compose a catechism for the multitudes in Latin.[2]

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[1] Martin Luther, The Shorter Catechism, in the Concordia Triglotta. (St. Louis: Concordia Publishing House) 1921, p. 533. Cf. also Luthers Werke, 30.i, p. 264.

[2] One of the problems involved in a study of the 1536 edition of the Institutes is the date of publication. The Epistola is dated "Basileae, X Calendas Septembres." It will be observed that the year is missing. The collophon reads "Basilaea, Per Thomam Platerum & Balthasarem Lasium, Mense Martio, Anno 1536." At first sight there seems to be no difficulty. If we add the year 1535 to the Epistola, everything appears to be in order. But if we do this, how do we explain the fact that the Epistola in the 1539 edition is dated "Basilaea, Calend. Augusti, Anno MDXXXVI"? (C.R. 29, 278) If

2. The Second Unit. Chapters Four and Five

We affirm that the second unit is made up of chapters four and five. The subject matter, the sacraments, is the unifying factor. Chapter four deals with baptism and the

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we affirm with Barth (III, p. 30) that this was a slip either of Calvin or his printer, how do we explain the fact that this date is retained in all the Latin editions? Is it possible that when Calvin revised the Epistola in 1539 and in 1543 he did not notice the mistake? It is possible, but not probable. It may be suggested in view of the above that Calvin had the Institutes printed in March of 1536 and the Epistola in August of 1536. There are three reasons which disprove this thesis. First, the signatures in the book show that the Epistola was printed before the Institutes. The signatures in the Letter begin with "a 2" and ends with "c 4." In the Institutes the signatures begin with "d." Second, the pagination of the work reveals that the Letter was printed first. The last page of the Epistola is "41," and and the first page of the Institutes bears the number "42." Third, the printing of the text proves that the Epistola was printed before the main body of the text. The first page of the Institutes is on the obverse side of the leaf upon which the concluding lines of the Epistola appear. This means that the missing date must be 1535. In support of this view is the fact that all the French editions of the Epistola bear the date 1535. Most of the French editions have the inscription "De Basle, le premier jour d'Aoust, mil conq cens trente cinq." The 1541 edition instead of "le premier jour" has "le vingt-troysiesme;" the year is the same as in the other editions. (Cf. C.R. 31). Partly as a result of this date, i.e. 1535, there has been a continuous tradition since the seventeenth century that the first edition of the Institutes was written in French. Bayle, (Dictionaire Historique et Critique, Cinquième Edition, Vol. 2, (Amsterdam: P. Brunel), 1740, p. 15), Maimbourg (Histoir~~i~~e du Calvinisme, 1, Paris, Sébastien Mabre Cramoisy, 1682, p. 60), Basnage, Thesaurus Monumentorum Ecclesiasticorum et Historicorum, Vol. 2, Amsterdam, Rudolph & Gerhard Westenios, 1725, p. 487), Henry, (Das Leben Johann Calvins des Grossen Reformators, Erster Band, Hamburg bei Freidrich Perthes, 1835, pp. 103ff), L. Bonnet, ("Calvin, Se Vie, Ses Escrits, Son Epogue," in the Revue Chrétienne, Paris, Meyrueis et Compagnie, 1857, p. 344, Haag ("Notice Sur La Vie et Les Ourages de Calvin" in the Bulletin de la Société de l'Histor~~i~~e du Protestantisme Français, Paris, Agence Centrale de la Société, 1853, p. 6. of the Appendix), and Dyer (Life of John Calvin, London, John Murray, 1850, p. 33f), all agree that there was an original French edition. It is beyond the province of this work to go into the arguments pro and con of this matter. It will suffice to say that on the basis of the evidence it is correct to say that there never was a French original of the 1536 edition. How, then, can we explain this tradition that there was, and the fact that all the French editions of the Letter have the date 1535, while the Latin editions have the date 1536? We affirm that Calvin at first had decided to send to Francis his eucharist. Chapter five is a discussion of the Roman Catholic doctrines of confirmation, penance, extreme-unction, orders and marriage. These rites of the Church are considered as sacraments in the Roman communion.

It is clear, then, that chapters four and five are united by the subject matter with which they deal, namely, sacraments, whether true sacraments or false ones. Furthermore, they belong together because they reveal a usage of patristic sources which is different from the usage in other chapters of the Institutes. It was pointed out above that in these two chapters there are sixty one references to patristic sources, whereas in the other four chapters there are only six. Our thesis is, then, that these two chapters belong together, not only because they are unified by their subject matter, but also because of the reformer's use of patristic authorities in their composition.

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catechism and wrote in French a letter to accompany it. This letter was written in 1535. Later, however, he realized the impropriety of sending a letter to his monarch in French. Besides, at the time when he wished to send his letter and catechism, the printing presses were not working (Cf. Doumergue, I, p. 592). He, therefore, translated the original letter into Latin, and completely reworked and expanded his catechism to the form in which we now have it in the first edition. This translation and revision was completed in the early part of 1536 and sent to the printers. The text was printed by March, 1536. Inasmuch as the Epistola was first written in French in 1535, and translated in 1536, Calvin did not put in the year in his dating of the Letter. In 1539, however, he dated the Epistola according to the month in which he had completed the original French edition but the year when he had translated it into Latin, namely, 1536. When he printed the first French edition he used the original copy of the Epistola, namely, that of 1535. This was the first time that the French copy was printed. We are not affirming that there was a French edition of the Institutes. What we are suggesting is, that Calvin had written, but not published, the Epistola in French in 1535. This suggestion that there was a French copy of the Letter, and also a French copy of the first draft of the first three chapters of the Institutes, in 1535 explains why in

We now have to answer the question, Where were they written? Barth and Doumergue affirm that they were written at Basle. We agree with them, but add another reason in favour of this view. We know that the *Epistola ad Franciscum I* was written at Basel. A cursory study of this letter reveals an employment of patristic sources similar to that of *De sacramentis* and *De falsis sacramentis*. In the *Epistola* Calvin quotes from Ambrose, Augustine, Cassiodorus, Cyprian, Gratian, Epiphanius and Eusebius. It is our thesis, then, that Calvin wrote *De sacramentis*, and *De falsis sacramentis* in the same place that he wrote the *Epistola*, that is to say, at Basel.

3. The Third Unit. Chapter Six.

The third unit of the 1536 edition is a chapter which actually deals with three subjects, to wit, Christian liberty, ecclesiastical power and political administration. We are in accord with the editors of the *Opera* in affirming that this chapter was written in France, but for another reason. We maintain that it was composed in France because it shows little evidence of patristic knowledge. Calvin has only one quotation from the Fathers in it.

We do not agree, however, with the editors of the *Opera*, Doumergue and Barth, that this chapter was written as an apology. We maintain that Calvin used it as part of his apology, which is something else. This point must now be elucidated.

It is interesting to note that Luther and Melanchthon wrote

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the sixteenth century De Sponde and Maimbourg could speak of a French edition of the *Institutes*. It is beyond the scope of this present work to indicate what became of the first draft of the *De lege*, *De fide*, *et De oratione*. A careful study of Calvin's *Instruction et Confession de Foy*, published in 1537, may throw some light on this matter.

on De libertate Christiana in 1520 and 1522 respectively. It would seem from a cursory comparison of Calvin's work with that of Melanchthon that the former knew about, and had probably seen, the latter's treatise. It should also be observed that Melanchthon entitled one of the sections in the 1535 edition of his Loci Communes,[1] "De potestate ecclesiastica." It is quite possible that Calvin heard about Melanchthon's revision of the Loci before it was published. Moreover, chapter twenty in the 1522 edition of the Loci is called "De magistratibus," and in 1535 edition the title is expanded to "De magistratibus et dignitate rerum politicorum." As regards the content of these works, Calvin's De politica administratione contains the same main ideas as Melanchthon's chapter on politics in his Loci. It is outside the province of this paper to make any final statement on the possible relationships between Calvin's sixth chapter of the Institutes and Melanchthon's Loci. We merely draw attention to this matter.

It will be remembered that Calvin sent this work as an apology to his monarch. It was his desire to prove that the Protestants in France were not revolutionaries. In view of this fact is it conceivable that Calvin wrote as part of his apology the words found in De libertate Christiana, to wit, "We lay it down as a principle that they (Christians) are exempt from the authority of all men"?[2] In the 1543 edition the reformer added a passage to make clear that the freedom to which he referred was in the realm of conscience, while at the same time he emphasized that Christians are bound to obey the external jurisdiction of the magistrate. But this clear exposition of his teaching does not appear in the 1536 edition of his work, where it was most needed. It must be concluded, therefore, that Calvin wrote the words quoted above before he decided to use De libertate Christiana as part of his apology. That he did not clarify the point before sending the text to the king can only be explained by the fact that he was pressed for time. The printing of the Institutes was occasioned by the persecution of the Protestants in France. There was an element of urgency in putting the work together. There was not time to polish the text of a work which he had already written.

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[1] For the different editions of the Loci Communes, cf., the Corpus Reformatorum, Vol. 21.

[2] Barth, I, p. 232. The text reads, "omnium hominum potestate exemptas esse constituimus."

The opening words of De potestate ecclesiastica seem to contradict what has been asserted in the preceeding paragraph. Calvin takes pains to assure the reader that he is not against the civil order, but opposed to the Roman hierarchy. The text is "Since, therefore, whatever we have said about Christian liberty belongs to this spiritual kingdom, we do not fight at all against the political order of laws or of legislators in this tract, but against the authority which those who want to appear as pastors of the Church have usurped for themselves."[1] In the final edition, however, Calvin dropped the words which may be interpreted as an apology and began with "qui pastores ecclesiae." Does not this suggest that the words which were omitted in 1559 could have been added in 1536? In other terms, may not Calvin have written the De potestate ecclesiastica in Angouleme, and later included it in his Institutes? In this case the words which were dropped in 1559 were added in 1536 to an original document as a literary devise in line with the purpose of the author.

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[1] "Cum ergo ad hoc spirituale regnum pertineat, quidquid de christiana libertate a nobis dictum est, in hoc sermone nullum adversus politicum legum aut legislatorum ordinem nobis certamen est, sed contra potestatem quam usurpant sibi." Barth, I, p. 233. The "qui pastores ecclesiae..." follows immediately after this text.

The last tract, the De politica administratione is clearly of the nature of an apology. It represents Protestants as loyal to the government under almost all circumstances. No one who had read this work could truthfully accuse members of the Reformed faith with being revolutionaries.

There are two points to be noted about this work. First, it is informed with classical ideas of politics. Calvin has in mind Cicero, Valerius, Maximus, Seneca, Dio Cassius, Xenophon, Apuleius, Homer and Quintillian. It seems, therefore, that for Calvin the classical idea of politics was the terminus ad quem of his political thought. Second, this treatise is, on the whole, in agreement with Melanchthon's De magistratibus, written in 1522.

In 1522 the reforming party was not considered politically subversive. Nevertheless, Melanchthon wrote his De magistratibus, which, therefore, was not an apology, but simply an exposition of the Christian notion of government and of a Christian's duties toward it. We suggest that Calvin wrote his De politica administratione for the same purpose. That is to say, he did not compose this work as an apology, but as an exposition of the political duties of the Christian man. In other terms, the work was not written as an apology, but was employed as part of an apology.

We contend, then, that the contents of the present chapter six of the first edition of the Institutes were written in France, not for "our French people, of whom I saw that multitudes hungered and thirsted for Christ," but for a more literary audience.

Before terminating this section of the structural relationships of the six chapters of the 1536 edition of the Institutes it may be well to state our conclusions.

(1)- Calvin wrote the first three chapters at Angoulême in 1534. These chapters intrinsically belong together by virtue of their subject matter and Calvin's use of patristic sources. They represent Calvin's first attempt to write a simple form of instruction for the people of the community in which he lived at the time. They probably include some of the sermons which he wrote at Angoulême. The original work was composed in French.

(2)- The sixth chapter was written in France in the form of three tracts, De libertate Christiana, De potestate ecclesiastica and De politica administratione. These tracts were not written for the masses, but for the educated people of the time. They were written in Latin.

(3)- Calvin wrote chapters four and five at Basel, where he had at his disposal an excellent theological library. These chapters were written during 1535 in Latin.

(4)- On account of the persecutions in France the reformer decided to send an apology to Francis I. At first he planned to send his "catechism" and, therefore, wrote in French a

Letter to his monarch. Later he realized the impropriety of sending a document written in French to his king.[1] Consequently, he translated the Letter and the catechism into Latin and added to this the treatises on the sacraments and the false sacraments and other tracts which were related to the subject on hand. Thus, the work which he sent to Francis was not only an apology but also an exposition of the Protestant religion.

III The Internal Structure of the Nucleus of the *Editio Princeps*

We now turn to the last section of this chapter, namely, the internal structure of the first three chapters of the first edition of the *Institutes*. It may be stated at the beginning that we are not concerned to show how these chapters are divided, although this will be noted, but to indicate how the reformer deals structurally with the three main topics of these chapters the Decalogue, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.

A. *De lege*

De lege is divided into three main parts. The first part could be entitled, "The Need for the Law." The second section is an exposition of the Ten Commandments. The third division may be called, "The Purpose of the Law: What it is not, what it is." The purpose of the law is not to enable sinners to gain merit, so that religion becomes a matter of balancing the books.

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[1] If Calvin had written to Francis in French, this would have implied that the king did not understand Latin. Calvin surely knew that Casaubon and de Thou, the authors of an edition of *Polybius* and *A Universal History* respectively, had written Latin dedications of their work to Henry IV. It is incredible that Calvin would have insinuated that Francis was less educated than Henry. In support of the view that Calvin wrote to Francis in Latin is the fact that he wrote the Dedication of his *De Clementia*, 1532, and the Preface to Olivitan's French Bible, 1535, in Latin. The Preface reads: "IOANNIS CALVINUS CAESARIBUS, REGIBUS, PRINCIPIBUS, GENTIBUSQUE OMNIBUS CHRISTI IMPERIO SUBDITUS SALUTEM." (C.R. 37, 787).

The law actually has a threefold aim: first, it is a paedogogue; it brings us to Christ. Second, it is a policeman; it restrains evil-doers from committing overt acts. Third, it is a professor; it teaches Christians what the will of God is.

In his division of the Ten Commandments, Calvin manifests his independence. The traditional view of the Church in Calvin's day made "Thou shalt have no other gods before me," and "Thou shalt not make any graven images...," one commandment. A difference was made between coveting a man's wife and his property, and these different objects of man's desire were expressed as two prohibitions. Thus, in the Roman Catholic Church the prohibitions against coveting were emphasized, but the commandment against images was overlooked.

Luther, in his *Eine kurze Form der zehn Gebote*, follows the traditional division, and states that the second commandment is "Thou shalt not take the name of the Lord thy God in vain." This arrangement is followed by the Lutherans as also by the Romanists today.

Calvin, however, rejected this division. He went back to Origen,[1] and affirmed with him that the phrase, "Thou shalt not make a sculptured image...," formed a distinct commandment. In doing this the reformer parted company with Augustine,[1] whose views he had most frequently quoted with approval. The reason why Calvin revised the traditional enumeration of the commandments is evident. He firmly believed that the Papist's veneration of images was idolatrous. It was to counteract this situation that the reformer revived the Origenistic division of the Decalogue.

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[1] Origen, Primum ergo mandatum est: "No erunt tibi dii alii, praeter me." Et post hoc sequitur: "Non facies tibi idolum. Est ergo primum mandatum: "Non erunt tibi dii alii praeter me; secundum vero: "Non facies tibi idolum...", *Homily No. VIII on Exodus*. P.G. 12, p. 350f.

B. *De fide*

De fide also is made up of three parts. The first may be entitled, "The Meaning of Faith." The second division deals with the topic, "The Object of our Faith, namely, Christ the Second Person of the Trinity." Here the reformer discusses Christology and the Trinity. The third and last part of this chapter is an exposition of the Apostles' Creed.

Calvin in his division of the Creed reveals his originality and his theological acumen. The traditional arrangement of the Creed was in twelve articles. (This is still the division in the Roman Church). The reason for this procedure is explained by Augustine in his *De Symbolo*, to wit, there is an article for each of the twelve apostles.[2] Luther rejected this fiction and divided the Creed according to his confession of faith in the three persons of the Trinity. He himself says of this arrangement:

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[1] Augustine, **Quaeritur**, decem praecepta Legis quemadmodum dividenda sint: utrum quatuor sint usque ad praeceptum de sabbato, quae ad ipsum Deum pertinent; sex autem reliqua, quorum primum est, Honora patrem et matrem: an patius illa tria sint, et ista septem: Mihi tamen videtur congruentius accipi tria illa, et ista septem..." *Questionum S. Augustini in Heptateuchum*. P.L. 34, 620f.

[2] Augustine, *De Symbolo*, "Hoc attendentes Apostoli, certam fidei regulam tradiderunt quam secundum numerum Apostolicum duodecim sententiis comprehensam, Symbolum vovaverunt." P.L. 40, 1189. Cf., also Ambrose, *Explanatio Symboli ad initiandos* (P.L. 18, 1158), and Rufinus, *Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolicum* (P.L. 21, 337).

> "...The Creed has hitherto been divided into twelve articles, although, if all points which are written in the Scriptures and which belong to the Creed were to be distinctly set forth, there would be far more articles, nor could they all be clearly expressed in so few words. But that it may be most easily and clearly understood as it is to be taught to children, we shall briefly sum up the entire Creed in three articles, according to the three persons in the Godhead, to whom everything that we believe is related, so that in the first article, of God the Father, explains the creation, the second article, of the Son, redemption, and the third article, of the Holy Ghost, sanctification. Just as though the Creed were briefly comprehended in so many words: I believe in God the Father, who has created me; I believe in God the Son, who has redeemed me; I believe in the Holy Ghost, who sanctifies me. One God and one faith, but three persons, therefore also the articles or confessions."[1]

Calvin, however, disagreed both with the traditional and Lutheran arrangement of the Symbol. He followed Luther in the first two articles, namely, "I believe in God...," and "I believe in Jesus Christ...," but he divided the third article into two confessions, to wit, "I believe in the Holy Ghost," and "I believe in the Holy Catholic Church..." This means that for Calvin there are four articles of the Creed.

The question, therefore, arises, Why did Calvin disagree with Luther on this point? In this edition of the Institutes he gives no reason for this arrangement. In the 1559 edition he finally explains why he refused to confess, "Credo in ecclesiam." For the reformer the words "Credo in" implied trust or confidence, and he would not confess that he trusted in the Church. This confidence was reserved for God alone. Calvin states his position thus:

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[1] Luther, Der Grosse Catechismus, "Von dem Glauben" in Concordia Triglotta, p. 679. Cf., also Luthers Werke, 31.i. p. 182f.

> "For we declare that we believe in God, both because our mind rests in him as true, and because our trust reposes in him; but this would not be applicable to the Church, any more than to "the remission of sins," or "the resurrection of the body."[1]

It is clear, then, that Calvin's arrangement of the Creed was not a literary device, but was motivated by a profound theological conviction. He trusted in God. He believed in the Church.

C. *De oratione*

De oratione is divided into two main parts. The first section deals with prayer in general. The second part is an exposition of the Lord's Prayer. We again note the reformer's originality. The traditional procedure of the pre-Reformation Church was to divide the *Pater noster* into seven petitions. Augustine, for example, in his *De Sermone Domini*, comments upon seven petitions, although he was fully aware that in Luke's Gospel there were only five. He also understood that it was permissible to interpret the seventh petition, "sed libera nos a malo," as part of the sixth, "et ne nos inducas in tentationem."[2] Nevertheless, he considered the Lord's Prayer to be made up of seven petitions. This was the traditional division in the Church.

Luther followed this tradition. In his *Eine kurze Form*

---

[1] Barth, V. p. 3.

[2] Augustine, *De Sermone in Monte*, Bk. II, 5-9. Cf., also his Enchiridion, CXVI, 2. P.L. 40.

der zehn Gebote, _eine kurze Form des Glaubens_, _eine kurze Form des Vaterunsers_ he numbers the petitions. There are seven of them.

Calvin's division, therefore, is a divergency from the traditional order and from the arrangement of Luther. In this edition of the text Calvin does not give any authority for his novel arrangement. In the 1559 edition, however, he quotes the unknown author of the _Opus imperfectum in Mattheum_[1] in his favour. Calvin writes, "The ancient writers of the Church also agree with us."[2] In support of this statement, Calvin quotes one author, Chrysostom, whom he believed to be the author of the aforementioned work.

Although the reformer disagreed with Augustine as far as the number of petitions in the Lord's Prayer is concerned, he is in accord with the bishop's arrangement of the petitions into two major groups: those petitions which have to do with the glory of God; Those which pertain to human well-being.[3]

This arrangement was the classical division in the Universal Church. Calvin, then, in writing on the Decalogue, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, the nucleus of the first edition, remained within the main stream of Catholic catechetical instruction. There are, however, in the reformer's work, modifications of ancient tradition. This is seen in his acceptance of Luther's rejection of the ancient order of instruction. But the modifications are seen more clearly in the internal structure of his treatment of the Decalogue, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer.

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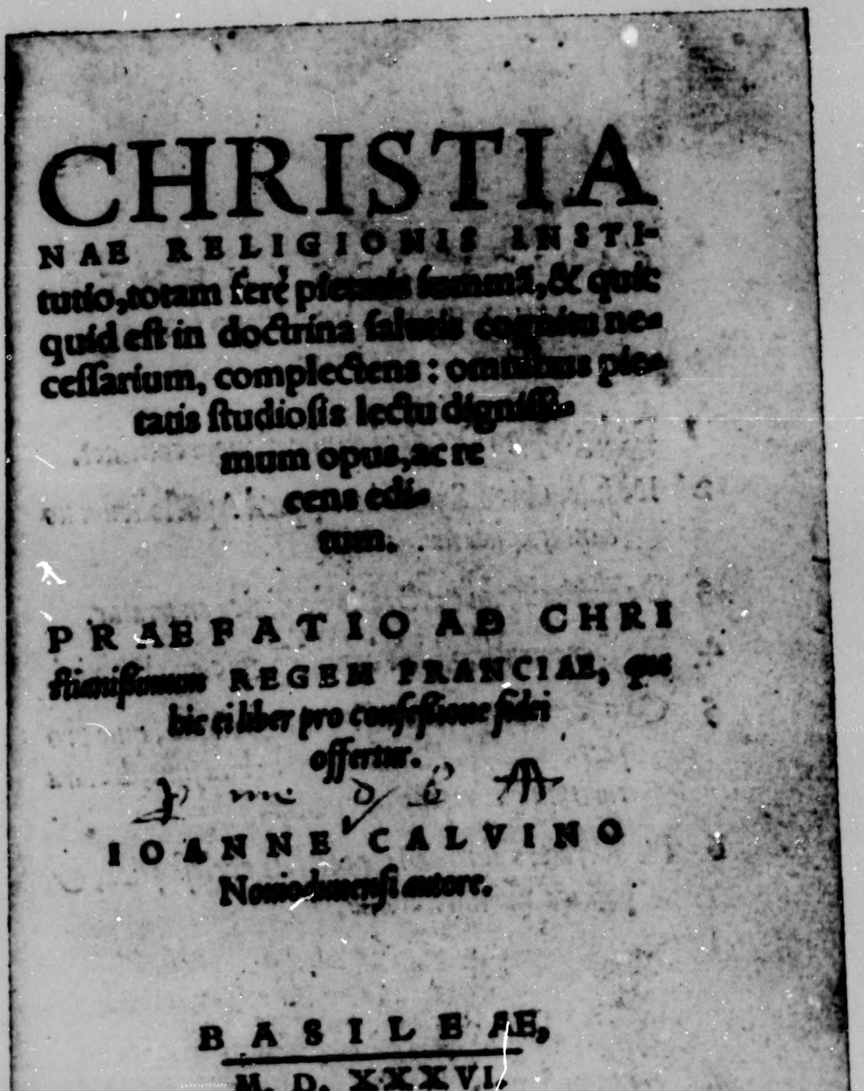
[1] Pseudo-Chrysostomus, _Opus imperfectum in Mattheum_, Homily 14. P.G. 56, 711-715.

[2] Barth, IV, p. 344f.

[3] Augustine, "Proinde apud evangelistam Matthaeum septem petitiones continere dominica videtur eratio: quarum tribus aeterna, poscuntur, reliquis quatuer, temperalia..." _Enchiridion_, CXV, (P.L. 40, 285), and _De Sermoni in Monte_, "Permanebunt ergo ista tria consummata atque cumulata in illa vita quae nobis promittitur. Reliqua vero quatuor quae petimus, ad temporalem istam vitam pertinere mihi videntur." II, 10. P.L. 34).

Title Page of First Edition



CHRISTIANAE RELIGIONIS INSTITUTIO,
totam ferè pietatis ſummã, & quicquid eſt in doctrina ſalutis cognitu necesſarium, complectens: omnibus pietatis ſtudioſis lectu digniſſimum opus, ac recens editum.

PRAEFATIO AD CHRIſtianiſſimum REGEM FRANCIAE, qua hic ei liber pro confeſſione fidei offertur.

IOANNE CALVINO
Nouiodunenſi autore.

BASILEAE,
M. D. XXXVI.

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Chapter Two

TEXTS OF THE 1536 Edition

I. The Editio Princeps

Princeton Theological Seminary is extremely fortunate in possessing a perfect copy of the first edition of Calvin's *Institutes*. Bonnet, writing in 1858, affirmed that there were only two copies in existence; a mutilated copy in the library of Geneva, and another copy in Scotland.[1]

The *editio princeps* is a small octavo volume of 520 pages. The *Epistola* and *Institutio* occupy 514 pages, and the Index takes up six pages. Each page measures 145 by 97 mm. Due to the difficulties involved in describing the title page of this edition, a photostatic copy is introduced at this place. It will be noted that Calvin is named as the author of the text, and the place of his birth is also given. His name appears three times in this edition. It is found on the title page, in the salutation to Francis I, on page five, and in the superscription of the first chapter, on page forty two. The hand written letters which appear above Calvin's name do not appear in the copy on the title page reproduced by Doumergue in his *Jean Calvin*.[2] They were clearly written in by an owner of the book.

On the obverse side of the title page under the title:

CAPITA ARGUMENTORUM

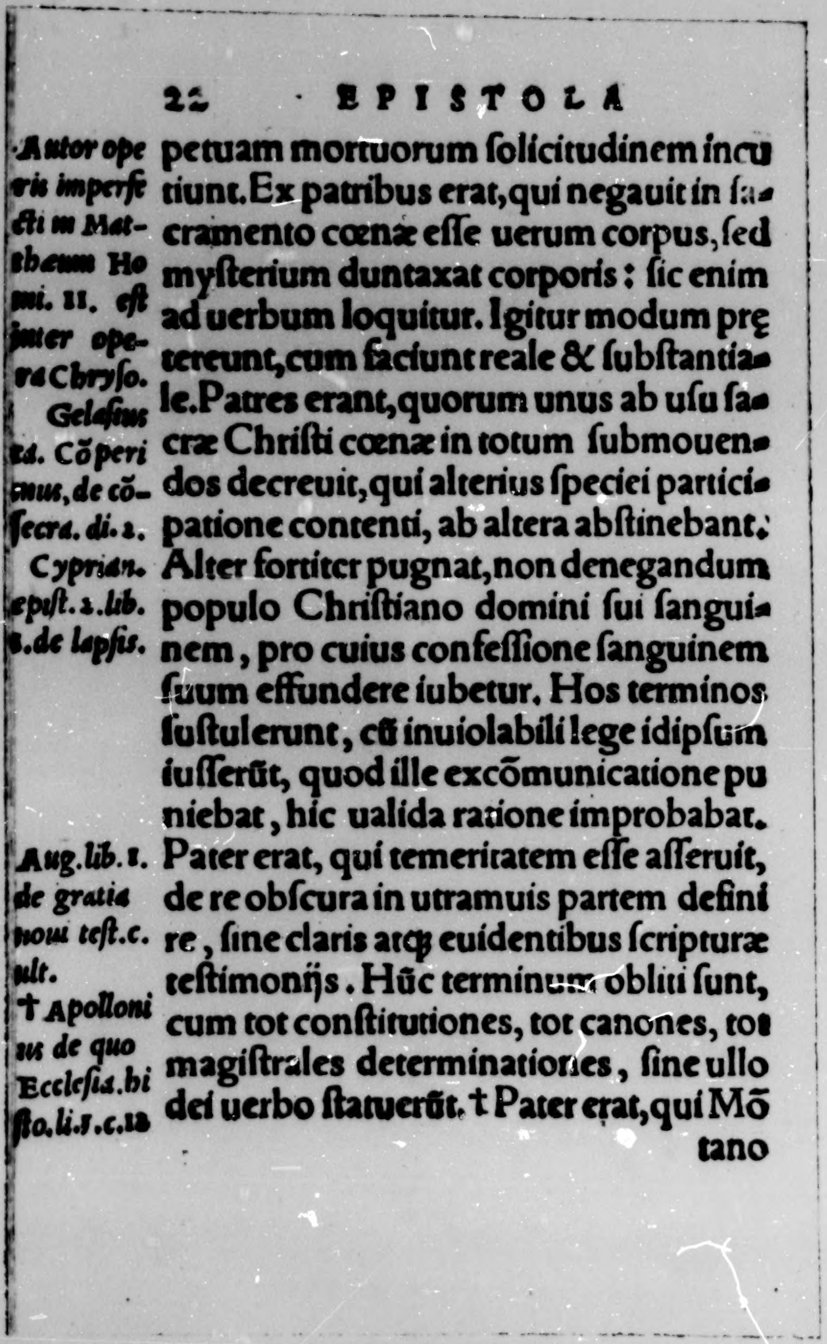
quae in hoc libro tractantur

---

[1] Jules Bonnet, "La Première Edition de l'Institution chrétienne de Calvin," *Bulletin de la Société de l'histoire du Protestisme Français*, (Paris: Agence Centrale de la Société), 1858, p. 139.

[2] Doumergue, I. 509.

Specimen Page of the *Epistola*



22 EPISTOLA

petuam mortuorum ſolicitudinem incutiunt. Ex patribus erat, qui negauit in ſacramento cœnæ eſſe uerum corpus, ſed myſterium duntaxat corporis: ſic enim ad uerbum loquitur. Igitur modum prętereunt, cum faciunt reale & ſubſtantiale. Patres erant, quorum unus ab uſu ſacræ Chriſti cœnæ in totum ſubmouendos decreuit, qui alterius ſpeciei participatione contenti, ab altera abſtinebant. Alter fortiter pugnat, non denegandum populo Chriſtiano domini ſui ſanguinem, pro cuius confeſſione ſanguinem ſuum effundere iubetur. Hos terminos ſuſtulerunt, cū inuiolabili lege idipſum iuſſerūt, quod ille excōmunicatione puniebat, hic ualida ratione improbabat. Pater erat, qui temeritatem eſſe aſſeruit, de re obſcura in utramuis partem definire, ſine claris atq; euidentibus ſcripturæ teſtimonijs. Hūc terminum obliti ſunt, cum tot conſtitutiones, tot canones, tot magiſtrales determinationes, ſine ullo dei uerbo ſtatuerūt. † Pater erat, qui Mōtano

Autor operis imperfecti in Matthæum Homi. 11. eſt inter opera Chryſo.

Gelaſius pa. Cōperimus, de cōſecra. di. 2.

Cyprian. epiſt. 2. lib. 3. de lapſis.

Aug. lib. 1. de gratia noui teſt. c. ult.

† Apollonius de quo Eccleſia. hiſto. li. 5. c. 18

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Calvin then lists the chapter headings of the six divisions of this work.

The Epistola Dedicatoria ad Franciscum begins on page five and ends on page forty one. It is printed in Roman type. On the last page of the Epistola, parallel with the signature "c 5," there is the word "SUMMA". This is the catch word, but it is not the first word of the next page. It is, however, the first word of the text.

There are twenty four lines on each page of the Epistola. The authorities quoted by Calvin are placed in the margin. This was a common practice at the time. It will be observed by examining the specimen page of the Epistola that the reformer gives general references. The quotations from Cyprian illustrate this. Calvin only gives the information that he is referring to Cyprian's Epistola and to the second book of the De lapsis. He does not identify either the epistola or the chapter in De lapsis.

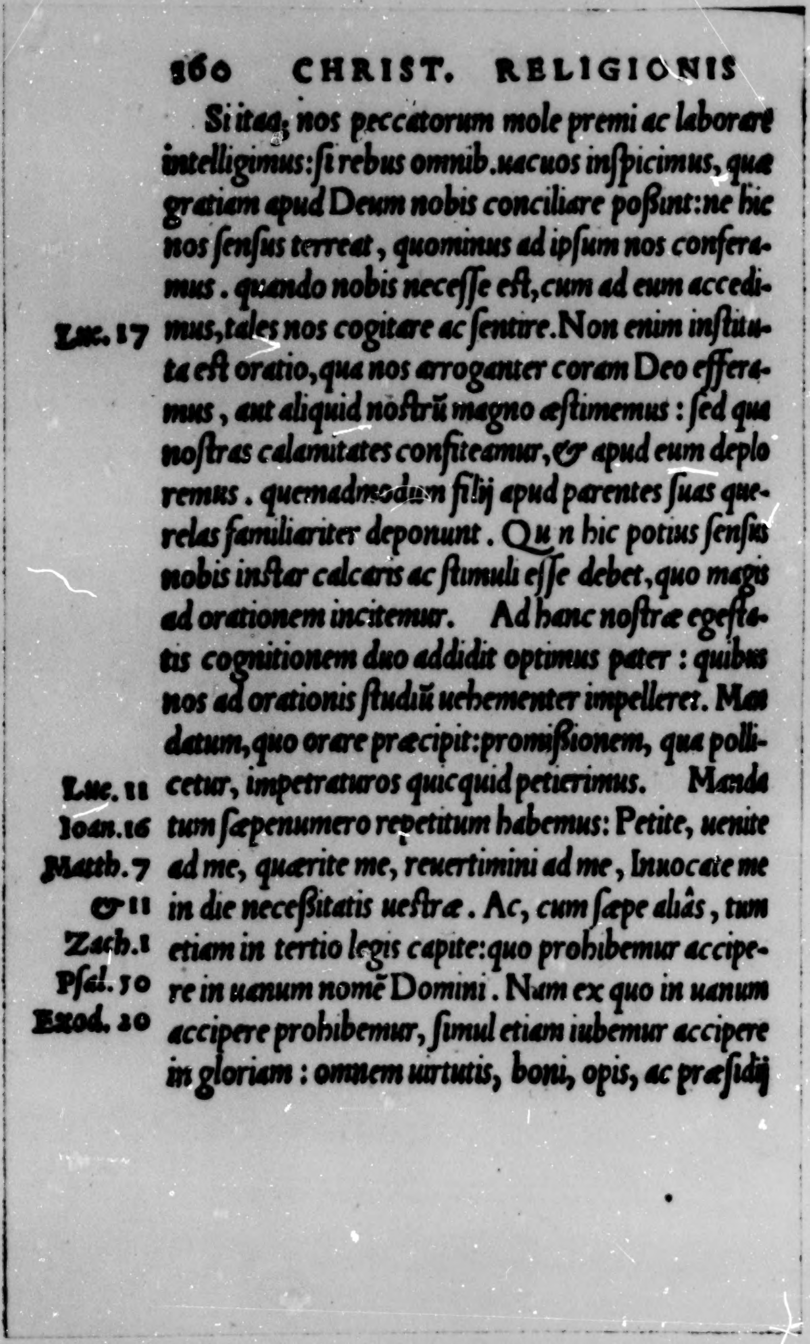
The Institutio begins on page forty two and ends on page five hundred and fourteen. It is printed in Italic type, having twenty four lines to each page. The book has the running title "CHRIST. RELIGIONIS INSTITUTIO." "CHRIST RELIGIONIS" is printed on the left page and "INSTITUTIO" on the right.

As in the case of the Epistola, the quotations are placed in the margin. Calvin, of course, only gives the chapter of the biblical book which he is quoting.[1]

---

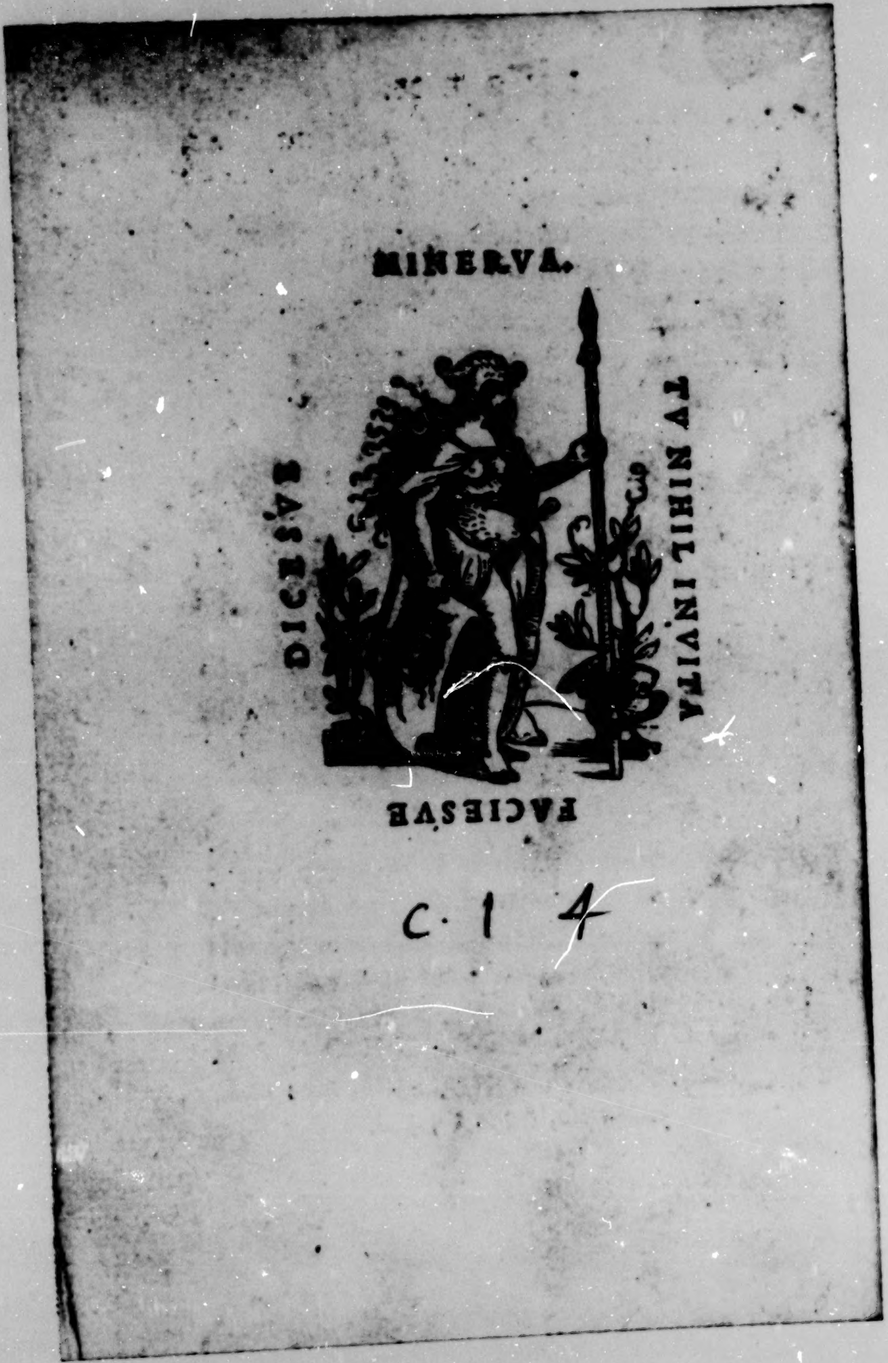
[1] The practice of dividing the chapters of the Bible into short verses was not introduced until fifteen years after Calvin published his Institutes, in 1551, when Robert Stephanus published his Greco-Latin Testament. In 1555 he published at Geneva a complete Bible which was divided into chapters and verses. Cf. The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religios Knowledge, Vol., II, (New York: Funk and Wagnalls Co.), 1908, p. 114.

Specimen Page of the Institutio



Si itaq; nos peccatorum mole premi ac laborare
intelligimus: ſi rebus omnib. uacuos inſpicimus, quæ
gratiam apud Deum nobis conciliare poſsint: ne hic
nos ſenſus terreat, quominus ad ipſum nos conferamus.
quando nobis neceſſe eſt, cum ad eum accedimus,
Luc. 17 tales nos cogitare ac ſentire. Non enim instituta
eſt oratio, qua nos arroganter coram Deo efferamus,
aut aliquid noſtrũ magno æſtimemus: ſed qua
noſtras calamitates confiteamur, & apud eum deploremus.
quemadmodum filij apud parentes ſuas querelas
familiariter deponunt. Quin hic potius ſenſus
nobis inſtar calcaris ac ſtimuli eſſe debet, quo magis
ad orationem incitemur. Ad hanc noſtræ egeſtatis
cognitionem duo addidit optimus pater: quibus
nos ad orationis ſtudiũ uehementer impelleret. Mandatum,
quo orare præcipit: promiſsionem, qua pollicetur,
Luc. 11 impetraturos quicquid petierimus. Mandatum
Ioan. 16 ſæpenumero repetitum habemus: Petite, uenite
Matth. 7 ad me, quærite me, reuertimini ad me, Inuocate me
& 11 in die neceſsitatis ueſtræ. Ac, cum ſæpe aliâs, tum
Zach. 1 etiam in tertio legis capite: quo prohibemur accipere
Pſal. 50 in uanum nomẽ Domini. Nam ex quo in uanum
Exod. 20 accipere prohibemur, ſimul etiam iubemur accipere
in gloriam: omnem uirtutis, boni, opis, ac præſidij

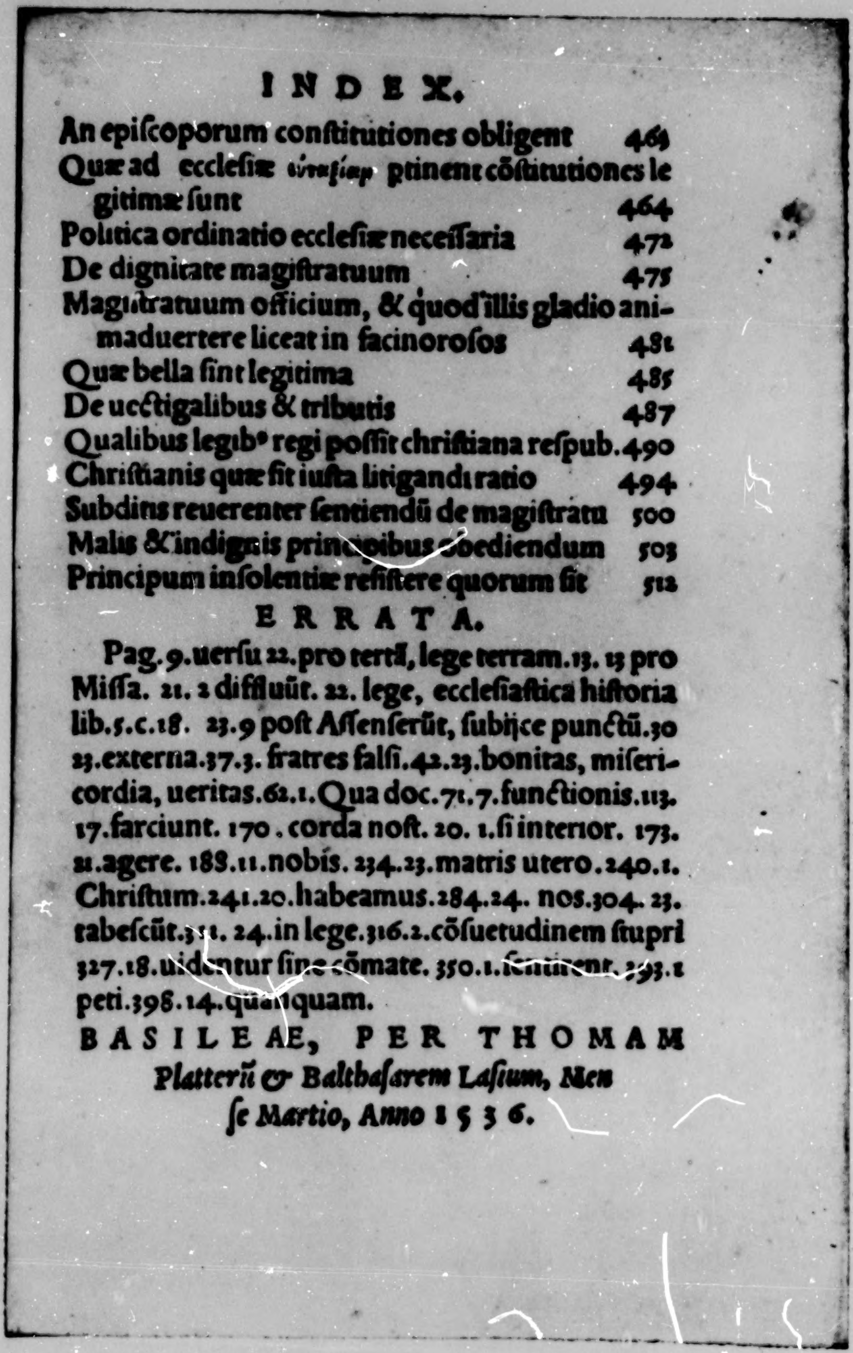
The Printer's Device


MINERVA.
TV NIHIL INVITA
FACIESVE
DICESVE

c.1 4

A brief examination of the specimen of the *Institutio* will make clear the system of abbreviation employed in Calvin's time. For example, the second word on line one [illegible]

The Last Page of the Index



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BASILEAE, PER THOMAM
Platterũ & Balthaſarem Laſium, Men
ſe Martio, Anno 1536.

A brief examination of the specimen of the *Institutio* will make clear the system of abbreviation employed in Calvin's time. For example, the second word on line one has "itaq;" instead of "itaque." Again, the final "n" is dropped in a number of words and a line is placed over the vowel.

The Errata and Collophon are found on the last page of the Index. A study of the index gives the reader a bird's eye view of the many subjects treated by Calvin in this edition of the *Institutes*. On the obverse side of the last page of the index there is a figure of Minerva, Italian goddess, patroness of handicrafts, professions and arts, with the inscription: "Tu nihil invita faciesve discesve Minerva."[1]

The translation which is found in part two of this study is based on this first edition of the *Institutes*, this being the first translation to be made from the *editio princeps*.

II *The Corpus Reformatorum Text*.

In 1863 an edition of the 1536 text was made by Guilielmus Baum, Eduardus Cunitz and Eduardus Reuss. It was printed by C. A. Schwetschke and Sons at Brunswick and is a part of the *Corpus Reformatorum*. This edition of the *editio princeps* forms part of volume one of the *Ioannis Calvini Opera Quae Supersunt Omnia*. The remaining part of this volume contains a critical edition of the 1559 edition of the *Institutes*. The critical element primarily consists in that the authors, by means of different type, have indicated the additions made by Calvin after 1539. There are also critical footnotes. This second part of the volume, however, is not our present concern.

---

[1] Cf. Horace, "Tu nihil invita dices faciesve Minerva." *De Arte Poetica*, 385 in The Loeb Classical Library (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons) 1926. p. 482.

The editors of the Corpus Reformatorum have faithfully produced the text of the editio princeps.[1] They have, however, taken upon themselves the responsibility of changing the punctuation and capitalization of the original. The change in punctuation is most evident in the frequent omission of brackets. The following example will illustrate the point.

Editio Princeps	Corpus Reformatorum
Quam eandem quotidie exerit, dum electos suos (qui veri sunt Israelitae) a peccatorum servitute (quae sub Aegypti nomine figuratur) eximit, dum extrahit e vinculis diaboli (qui spiritualis est Pharao, Aegyptiorum Dominus, eorum scilicet qui in concupiscentiis ambulant.)[2]	Quam eandem quotidie exerit, dum electos suos, qui veri sunt Israelitae, a peccatorum servitute, quae sub Aegypti nomine figuratur, eximit, dum extrahit e vinculis diaboli, qui spiritualis est Pharao, Aegyptiorum Dominus, eorum scilicet, qui in concupiscentiis suis ambulant.[3]

Brackets have been omitted by the editors of the Corpus thirty seven times. These will be noted in the translation by means of an asterisk. Thus: "...(quae sub Aegypti nomine figuratur)*..."

The changes in capitalization are most frequently made to bring Calvin's text into line with modern rules of grammar. Calvin, for example, capitalizes "Mosaica,"[4] whereas C. R. has "mosaica."[5] Again, where Calvin has "Deos,"[6] referring to false gods, C. R. reads "deos."[7]

One observation should be made about these changes: since the C.R. edition of the Institutes is supposed to be a correct edition of the editio princeps, it would have been better to give the text as it is in the original. Still, it must be made clear that these changes in C.R., in no way effect the meaning of the text.

---

[1] We can speak only of what we know. Therefore, this statement is limited to the first three chapters of the Institutes, which were collated as a part of this study.

[2] Editio princeps, p. 51.

[3] C.R. 29, 36.

[4] Ed. prin. p. 61.

[5] C. R. 29, 36.

[6] Ed. prin. p. 54.

[7] C. R. 29, 33.

Of more importance than these changes in punctuation and capitalization is the fact that C.R. has omitted thirteen times Calvin's indications of Biblical passages to which he refers or which he quotes. They are as follows:

Column	Location	Text
31	after (ut Evangelistae referunt)	Luke 10
35	circa "ad sacramenta aut iuramenta"	Deut. 5
37	after section on the creation of the world	Genesis 2
44	"Hanc gratiam legem improprie..."	Romans 8
47	after "Hanc a subiectione legis..."	1 Cor. 15
54	"Quanquam scriptura ut nullam..."	Matthew 16
64	"Ut, quatenus Deus est,..."	Psalm 100
69	"Hunc mirabili, nobisque..."	Romans 12
73	"Cum autem ecclesia sit..."	John 10
79	"Qui vero tunc superstites..."	John 5
90	"Ut si, quotquot in terra..."	2 Tim. 2.
101	(ut ait Hanna)	1 Samuel 2

There is one omission which belongs in a category of its own. The editio princeps has "1 Timothy 10."[1] This is clearly a mistake, and has been dropped by C. R. But, no reference is made to Calvin's mistake in a footnote in C. R.

---

[1] Ed. prin. p. 53.

These are two placed where C. R. has added references. In column 34 C. R. has (Deut. 32. Ies. 40. Ier. 2. Ezech. 6. Hab. 2). Deuteronomy 32, however, is not in the original. Again, in column 73 C. R. has (Rom. 8), which is not in the editio princeps.

Finally, there are two instances in which C. R. has corrected Calvin's quotations, but without indicating that a change was made. Where the original has 1 Cor. 2,[1] C. R. reads 1 Tim. 2,[2] and where Calvin's text reads 1 Cor. 11[3] C. R. has 1 Cor. 12.[4]

The text of the Institutes in C. R. was not used to translate Part Two of this dissertation. The Prolegomena of C. R., however, were found to be most valuable. They contain a compendium of the findings of competent scholarship as regards the Institutes up until the end of the nineteenth century.

III The Barth Text

Barth's edition of the 1536 edition of the Institutes was published in 1926 by Christian Kaiser at Munich. It is found in volume one of the five volume work, Ioannis Calvini Opera Selecta, edited by Peter Barth and Guilelmus Niesel. The text is printed in Roman type, being preceded by Barth's own Prefatio.

---

[1] Ibid, p. 121
[2] C. R. 29, 65
[3] Ed. prin., p. 148.
[4] C. R. 29, 77.

Since Barth's edition of the Institutes is based on C.R. it has also dropped the brackets which Calvin used, and has omitted the references to biblical texts which C. R. dropped. It also contains the other mistakes noted above.

Barth has also made some slips of his own. On page thirty seven he has "Idque iure illi serviant." the C.R. and the editio princeps read "Idque iure illi deberi, ut singula pro naturae suae ratione illi serviant..."[1] This is undoubtedly an omission by reason of homoeoteleuton. There is also a mistake in the footnotes. These lapsus calami will be noted in Part Two.

Barth's text is valuable because it contains in the footnotes some of the authorities which Calvin clearly had in mind but which he did not actually quote. Moreover, he has located these texts in the authorities in question.

The first draft of the translation in Part Two was made from Barth's text. The reason for this is that Barth's text is more readily accessible than the other two. The editio princeps is a very rare book, and has to be handled with great care. It cannot, of course, be removed from the library. The C.R. is more accessible than the first edition, but it is bulky and cannot be used outside the library.

Barth's text has been collated with the C.R., and the C.R. with the editio princeps. It is true to say, therefore, that this work is based on a copy of the first edition.

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[1] Ed. prin., p. 42; C. R. col. 27.

Chapter Three

TRANSLATIONS OF THE 1536 EDITION[1]

Since this is not the first translation of the 1536 edition of Calvin's Institutes, it will be necessary to say something about what has been done in the field of translations.

I. Joh. Calvins Christliche Glaubenslehre[2]

The first translation of the editio princeps of the Institutes was made into German by Bernhard Spiess in 1886.[3]

---

[1] Bela Vasady writes: "In 1936, on the occasion of the four hundredth anniversary of the appearance of the first edition of John Calvin's Institutiones, the Reformed Church of Hungary undertook the publication of the text of this first edition in order to make it available not only to the ministers of the Magyar Reformed Church but also to the general public." The Main Traits of Calvin's Theology, (Grand Rapids: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company), 1951, p. 7. This work is unaccessible, however, due to the barrier of language.

[2] Joh. Calvins Christliche Glaubenslehre, trans. by Bernhard Spiess (Wiesbaden: Chr. Limbarth), 1887, p. vi.

[3] At the time he made the translation, Spiess was the headmaster and instructor in religion at the Königliches Gymnasium at Wiesbaden. There is ~~much~~ a remarkable paucity of biographical data on Spiess in German works on biography and necrology. However, in a letter received from the present librarian at Spiess' old school the following biographical material was received. Spiess (1845-1906) studied theology at Tübingen, Erlangen and Giessen. In 1869 he was appointed instructor in religion at the gymnasium at Weilburg. Three years later he passed the state examination which authorized him to teach Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In 1876 he was appointed headmaster at Wiesbaden. Spiess was not only an educator; he was also a Protestant clergyman. According to Schnell, he was orthodox in his theology. Spiess' interests were catholic, as may readily be seen from the following list of his published works:

(1)- Die Praestinationslehre des Koran, 1873.
(2)- Die christlichen Ideen der Parzivaldichtung, 1879.
(3)- Luthers Beziehungen zu Nassau, 1884.
(4)- Beitrage fur die Reformierte Kirchenzeitung in Cleveland, U. S. A., 1884-1887.
(5)- Johann Calvins christliche Glaubenlehre nach der altesten Ausgabe 1536 zum erstenmals ins Deutsche ubersetzt, 1887.
(6)- Michael Servets Widerherstellung des Christentums, 2 Bande, 1892.
(7)- Al Koran. Leben und Lehre des Propheten. Anhang: "Auswahl biblischer Geschtchten aus dem Koran in einger Überstzung." 1894
(8)- Goethe und das Christentum, 1902.

The translation of the 1536 edition of Calvin's Institutes was the outcome of a conference of Reformed ministers, elders, and church leaders which met at Marburg in August, 1884. At this meeting a letter was read from Pastor Kuhnert of Schwiebus in which he said in part: "Calvin's Institutes is, on account of its being written in Latin, unaccessible to the congregations of Germany. But it has been of immeasurable influence on the conception of Christian doctrine..."[1] It was noted in the debate which followed the reading of Kuhnert's letter that F. A. Krummacher's translation of the 1559 edition of the Institutes was incomplete. Indeed, Krummacher had translated only the first two books.[2] To cut a long story short, it was decided at this conference that a translation of the 1536 text should be made, and Spiess accepted the assignment. The work was completed and published in 1887. This was the first complete translation of the Institutes into German, and the first translation of the 1536 edition into any language.

It is clearly beyond the scope of this work to make a detailed comparison of Spiess' translation with the Latin original. A number of paragraphs, however, were picked at random and compared with the original Latin, in order to note the kind of translation which Spiess made. What, therefore, is now affirmed cannot be contradicted, but it may be supplemented by further study along these lines.

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1. Spiess, op. cit., p. v.
2. Bibliographia Calviniana, Catalogus Chronologicus Operum Calvini. Catalogus Systematicus Operum Quae Sunt De Calvino. Edidit D. Alfredus Erichson. (Berolini, Apud C. A. Schwetschke et Filium), MCM, p. 53.

The first observation to be made is that Spiess has given a literal, but not a wooden, rendering of the Latin. He has not taken any liberties with the text, but has carefully retained Calvin's imagery.

Second, on page ninety nine he has "gleiches Wesens und gleich ewig mit dem Vater, allmachtig nnd[1] aller Dinge Schopfer." The original reads, "patri et filio consubstantialem ac eo eternum, omnipotentem, omniumque creatorem."[2] It will be noted that Spiess has omitted "et filio." This was probably an accidental omission.

II. Institución De La Religión Christiana

The second translation of Calvin's first edition of the Institutes was made into Spanish in 1936. The translator, Jacinto Teran, is an ex-Roman Catholic Priest. A letter which was sent to Teran, asking for further information about his life and work, was returned by the Argentinian Post Office.

Teran's translation was made to commemorate the four hundredth anniversary of the first edition. B. Foster Stockwell, Dean of the Evangelical Faculty of Theology at Buenos Aires, writes: "A couple of years before the fourth centenary anniversary of the 1536 edition, I invited him (Teran) to translate the book from Latin into Spanish...When editing the translation of Mr. Teran, I made a good many changes to bring it in line with the classical Spanish translation of the 1559 edition, made by Cipriano de Valera.." In reply to a request for further information about the extent of his editing of Teran's translation, Stockwell wrote: "...as to my work in editing Teran's text - it would be impossible for me to indicate this with precision, without the originals of the translation used in the press and long since discarded. With the help of the Barth-Niesel edition of the Institutio (1559), I checked Teran's translation against Valera's, and where it seemed to me that the latter added elegance or force or accuracy to the translation of the 1536 edition, I did not hesitate to make use of it. This was in harmony with Mr. Teran's wishes." It is clear, then, that Stockwell polished the portions of the 1536 edition which Calvin retained in the 1559 text. What can be said about this translation? Teran is clear about what he planned to do: "As regards the translation itself, I state that, from the first moment I proposed to myself these two things: to be as faithful as possible to the thought and even to the letter of the original..."[1] We are not concerned here with the second object which Teran had in mind; it has to do with his own style. We must now answer the question, Did Teran execute his plan?

---

[1] A typographical error.

[2] C. R. 29, col. 71.

We must answer this question in the negative. After a study of a few selected passages, it is clear that the work abounds in errors. There is no point in reproducing all the evidence in support of this statement. The following examples will suffice.

There are first of allerrors due to omissions. Teran omits biblical references which are in the Barth text. At the end of the discussion on the article of the Creed, "He Arose from the Dead," there are the texts, 1 Corinthians 15 and Acts 1.[1] Teran, however, has not biblical references at this place.[2] On page eighty two, Teran has dropped six lines of the Latin text, the words which appear between the texts, Romans 8 and Romans 11.[3] In the second place, there are many mistranslations. Page eighty two, for example, is replete with errors. For "qua omnia operatur in omnibus,"[4] he has "por lo cual todas las cosas son operados in nosotros." (by which all things are worked in us). He translates "ab eo nobis evenire (excepto duntaxat peccato quod nequitiae nostrae imputari convenit),"[5] by "nos viene de ella (excepto unicamente el pecado, el cual a nosotros solamente ha de ser imputado." (It comes to us from (providence), except only sin, which must be imputed to us alone). On the following page he has "es uno con su Padre Dios,"(he is one with his Father God), for "sit unus cum patre Deus."[6]

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[1] Juan Calvino, Institución de la Religión Cristiana, Trans. Jacinto Teran, (Buenos Aires: La Aurora), 1936, p. XXXVIII.

Whether Teran or Stockwell is to blame for these mistakes is beside the point. The fact is that the Spanish translation of the 1536 edition of the Institutes is not to be trusted.

III A Translation of Calvin's 'De Lege' in the 1536 Edition of the Institutes.

The third, and final, translation with which we have to deal is that of Frederick M. Corum. Corum, educated at the University of Pennsylvania and Princeton Theological Seminary, translated the first chapter of the Institutes in partial ful-

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1. Barth, I, p. 84. Infra page 182 line 17.
2. Teran, p. 93.
3. Barth, I. p. 76. Infra. page 162 line 15 to page 163, line 1.
4. Ibid. Infra page 163 lines 21 + 22.
5. Ibid. Part Two. page 162 line 7
6. Ibid. p. 77 Infra. Page 164 line 11.

fillment of the requirements for the degree of Master in Theology at the Seminary. The work, entitled, " Translation of Calvin's 'De Lege' in the 1536 Edition of the Institutes," is in the Seminary Library.

Since this dissertation is, in part, directly related to Corum's thesis, his Introduction is quoted. He writes:

> "No modern English translation of the 1536 edition of Calvin's Institutes is thus far available... Calvin's scriptural references appear in the text as Barth has placed them. Time has not permitted an exhaustive study of Calvin's use of Scripture, but it is to be noted that he employed no consistent method in this regard. At times, when he quotes, he has the idea of a whole chapter in mind; sometimes, a series of verses; and often, a single verse or phrase. And although it appears that generally he developed his own thought and then appended scriptural references by way of illustration there are many instances of his extensive quoting of Scripture as a basis for theological development. It will also be noted that in the majority of cases where Calvin quotes literally he gives no reference...In rendering the Latin original into English, an effort has been made to avoid paraphrase and to adhere strictly to the imagery and style of the Reformer."[1]

Three observations must be made about this quotation. First, the opening sentence may mislead the reader into thinking that there exists a translation of the 1536 edition of the Institutes in Elizabethean English. Such a translation, however, is not mentioned in the Bibliographia Calviniana which lists all the translations of the Institutes up until the end of the nineteenth century. Corum's sentence, therefore, that "No modern

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[1] Frederick M. Corum, A Translation of Calvin's"De Lege" in the 1536 Edition of the Institutes, (Princeton: Seminary Library), Typescript, 1948.

English translation of the 1536 edition of Calvin's Institutes is thus far available," is unfortunate. At the time when Corum translated De lege there was no translation of the 1536 edition available in English.

Second, we are in full agreement with Corum's conclusion regarding Calvin's use of Scripture. An exhaustive study of this matter will be found in another part of this work.

Third, Corum has fulfilled his purpose of sticking closely to the reformer's imagery and style. This is an excellent translation of the Barth edition of the editio princeps.

There are, however, four areas in which we find ourselves in disagreement with Corum. On page twenty one of Corum's work there is a typographical error. He has "show," instead of "should." This slip is unimportant, inasmuch as the mistake is obvious to anyone reading the text. Then, there are slips occasioned by the omission of words. In order to illustrate these, the Latin original will be given followed by Corum's translation.

(1) "dumque ostendit quam nihil eorum quae a Deo praecipiuntur exacte efficiamus." (Barth I, p. 39).

"and while it shows us that we may accomplish completely none of these things which are prescribed." (Corum, p. 5).[1]

(2) "...homo...a Deo damnatus." (Barth, I, p. 56).

"man has been condemned." (Corum, p. 34).[2]

(3) "totum hominum-genus per legem argui maledictioni." (Barth, I, p. 58).

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1. Corum has omitted the agent of the prohibition, namely, God.
2. Again Corum has omitted the agent, to wit, God.

"The whole race of mankind is proved subject to the curse." (Corum, p. 38).[1]

It is obvious that these omissions are not of great importance. They in no way pervert the meaning of the text.

The third type of mistake is more serious: It is a mistranslation of the Latin. There are three slips of this kind.

(1)- "quin verbum Dei virtue sit et veritas." (Barth, I, p. 41).

"that the Word of God is virtue and life." (Corum, p. 7)[2]

(2)- "ut non optemus modo suam cuique uxorem et omnia sua salva atque integra manera..." (Barth, I, p. 52).

"We should not only desire that each man's life and all his possessions remain to him safe and entire." (Corum, 26).[3]

(3)- "Nomen vero meriti qui usurpat, adversus Dei gratiam blasphemiam erigit, quae cum illo stare non potest." (Barth, I, p. 68)

"In truth, anyone who usurps the name merit raises against God's grace a blasphemy which cannot stand alongside Him." (Corum, p. 56)

"Illo" is the ablative singular, masculine or neuter of ille. Corum translates it as a masculine, and affirms, therefore, that it stand for"God." We maintain, however, that it should be translated as a neuter, and that it refers to "meritum." This means that the text should be translated thus: "Truly, anyone who makes use of the name "merit" raises blasphemy against the grace of God which cannot stand together with merit."

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[1] Once again the agent is left out, namely, the law.

[2] Corum has translated veritas by life, instead of truth.

[3] Corum has rendered uxorem by life: It should be wife.

These mistakes are more serious than the other two types of errors because they are apt to be misleading. We wonder also whether Corum's translation, "Adam, the parent of us all, was created in the image and likeness of God (Gen. 1), that is, endowed with wisdom, justice and sanctity, and thus by reason of these gifts cleaving to God...,"[1] is really faithful to the Reformer's thought. Corum's translation is good Protestant theology, but it is not what Calvin wrote. The reformer said: "parentum omnium nostrum Adam esse creatum ad imaginem et similitudinem Dei (Gen. 1), hoc est, sapientia, justitia, sanctitate praeditum, atque his gratiae donis Deo its haerentem."[2] This notion of "gifts of grace" may be a hangover from the classical doctrine of the donum superadditum in Roman Catholic theology. Corum makes Calvin more Protestant than he was in 1534-35.

It is interesting to note that Teran has translated "his gratiae donis" by "por semejantes dones"[3] (by such gifts). The falsity of Teran's translation is evident when his Spanish is put into Latin. "Por semejantes dones" in Latin would be either "similibus donis," or "talibus donis." This, however, is a far cry from Calvin's "his gratiae donis." Spiess, on the other hand, translates the Latin correctly. He has "durch diese Gnadengeschenke."[4]

There is another place where we disagree with Corum's translation. He has translated "hanc gratiam legem improprie vocavit Paulus...,"[5] by "This grace Paul has figuratively called a law."[6]

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[1] Corum, p. 2
[2] Barth, I, p. 38
[3] Teran, p. 28
[4] Spiess, p. 26
[5] Barth, I, p. 55. Cf. Infra p.110, l. 5.
[6] Corum, p. 32

Both Spiess and Teran have translated this sentence correctly. Spiess has "Diese Gnade nannte Paulus im uneigentlichen Wortsinne Gesetz."[1] Teran's text reads, "A esta gracia la llamo Pablo impropriamente ley."[2]

In spite of these mistakes, however, it is still true to say that Corum's translation is an excellent piece of work. The style is vivid and the translation, on the whole, is a faithful rendering of the original.

One final observation should be made about these translations. Spiess' work is based on the text in C. R. which means that he has carried over into his text the idiosyncrasies of this edition. Teran and Corum have translated the Barth edition. The result is that in the texts of Teran and Corum, besides their own mistakes, there are also the slips of Barth and C. R.

This present translation is an attempt to render into English the first three chapters of the 1536 edition of Calvin's Institutes. The translator has tried to fulfill three tasks: First, to make a correct translation of the Latin; second, to retain the imagery of the reformer; third, to preserve Calvin's style. This last point explains why the brackets dropped by C.R. and Barth and by all the translations based on these works have been restored in this text. The translator has also added the page numbers of the editio princeps in the left hand margin of this text. They are found in parentheses, thus: (124). The lines of the text were also numbered by the translator in order to facilitate references to the work.

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1. Spiess, p. 51
2. Teran, p. 52.

Chapter Four
CALVIN'S SOURCES

Calvin's sources fall into three clear cut divisions: first, scriptural; second, theological; and third, philosophical. In the first three chapters of the Institutes, however, Calvin does not quote any philosopher. This means that in this chapter our concern is with his biblical and theological sources. Again, these biblical and theological sources fall into two groups: first, those which Calvin actually cites in his work; second, those which the reformer does not actually quote, but which he obviously had in mind. The authorities which Calvin had in mind, but for which he does not give any specific reference, will be found in the footnotes in Part Two together with parallels from older theologians which may eventually throw some light on Calvin's thought, even though it is by no means certain that he had them in mind.

I. Biblical Sources

Biblical quotations, as would be expected in a Protestant work, are much more numerous than theological references. In order to deal adequately with Calvin's biblical sources a fourfold task must be executed. First, the verses of the Bible which Calvin had in mind when he simply cited chapters of the Bible must be identified. These will be placed in the text of this translation, and will constitute an addition to the editio princeps. Second, biblical quotations will be put in quotations marks. Again, this will involve an addition to the editio princeps. Third, scriptural passages which the reformer had in mind, but for which he did not give any specific reference will be identified. These elements in our fourfold task will appear in Part Two. Here, however, we must deal with the fourth element in our study of Calvin's biblical sources. This is the identification of the version of Scripture which Calvin employed in this edition of the *Institutes*. It is clear that there are only two possibilities: either the reformer used an existing version of Scripture, or he translated the originals himself.

The Problem

This, then is the problem to which we must address ourselves in this chapter: Did Calvin translate the Hebrew and Greek originals, or did he quote from a Latin text? In favour of the former view is the statement of an English scholar, H. Hammond, who asserts, after informing his readers that he had made his own translation of the New Testament, "...such of both sorts are Cardinal Cajetano and Mr. Calvine, who translate from the original, what they comment upon."[1] It is impossible to decide what precise meaning of the phrase, "they comment upon," has in this quotation. If Hammond had in mind the *Commentaries*, then his statement has nothing to do with this study. If he included the edition of the *Institutes* under consideration in this dissertation in the phrase quoted above, then his affirmation is false as far as the Old Testament is concerned.

The Evidence

The Old Testament.

We shall endeavour to show that Calvin's biblical quotations in the first edition are not a translation of the original Hebrew or of the Greek of the Septuagint. In order to arrive at this conclusion, all biblical references in the first three chapters were compared with the originals. It will suffice here to simply present the evidence gleaned from a study of the Ten Commandments.

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[1] H. Hammond, *A Paraphrase and Annotation Upon All the Books of the New Testament*, (London: J. Flesher), 1653, Page two of "A Necessary Advertisement to the Reader." I am indebted to Mr. Raymond Lee Strong for this reference.

The second commandments in the Institutes reads: "Non facies tibi sculptile...se Dominum esse, Deum nostrum fortem, et aemulatorem."[1] Two points should be noted about this rendering of the commandment. First, Calvin has "sculptile." The Hebrew[2] reads פֶּסֶל which is correctly translated in the Septuagint[3] by εἴδωλον. Surely, if the reformer had been translating either the Hebrew or the Septuagint he would have employed the term idolum. Second, Calvin has "se Dominum esse, Deum nostrum fortem." The Hebrew, however, reads, אָנֹכִי יְהוָה אֱלֹהֶיךָ אֵל קַנָּא. The Septuagint follows this closely ἐγώ γάρ εἰμι Κύριος ὁ θεός σου, θεός ζηλωτής. It is evident that the translators of the Septuagint correctly read אֵל as the abbreviated form of אֱלֹהִים and, therefore, rendered it by θεός. Calvin, however, follows Jerome's Vulgate and has fortis, which is a translation of אֵל, strength.

The third commandment in Calvin reads: "Non usurpabis nomen Dei tui in vanum...Non habiturum se innocentem, qui nomen suum in vanum usurpaverit."[4] This is slightly different from the

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[1] Barth, I, p. 42

[2] Biblia Hebraica, edidit R. Kittel, Stuttgartiae, Priv. Wurtt., Bibelanstalt, 1937.

[3] Vetus Testamentum Graecum, edidit R. Holmes, Oxonii: ex Typographeo Clarendoniano, 1798.

[4] Barth, I, p. 45f.

Hebrew and Greek texts. Before Dei the Hebrew has יְהוָה and the LXX., κύριος. It should also be observed that the Vulgate has "Non assumes nomen Domini Dei..."

The fourth commandment in the Septuagint differs from the Hebrew text. For example, the LXX., adds ὁ βοῦς σου καὶ τὸ ὑποζύγιόν σου καὶ πᾶν κτῆνός σου. Calvin follows the Hebrew to the extent that he omits this addition. He also agrees with the Hebrew in having "atque peregrinus tuus qui est in portis tuis," instead of καὶ ὁ προσήλυτος ὁ παροικῶν ἐν σοί. As regards the fifth commandment ~~itself~~, it will be observed that Calvin has dropped the pronoun, tuus. When we study the promise, it is clear that the Greek and Hebrew agree, except for the addition of ἵνα εὖ σοι γένηται... τῆς ἀγαθῆς. It is also evident that the reformer's text does not have this addition. After the opening words of the promise, however, Calvin completely departs from the text of both the Hebrew and Greek Bibles.[1]

The reformer follows the Hebrew arrangement of the commandments six, seven and eight.

The tenth commandment in the first edition of the Institutes reads in part thus: "Non concupisces domum proximi tui, non desiderabis uxorem eius." The order of sequence here, "house,"

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[1] It may be objected that most of the evidence in our discussion of commandments four and five simply points to the fact that Calvin was quoting Scripture ad sensum and rebuilding the sentences of Scripture in his own way. This objection supports our contention, namely, that Calvin was not translating a Hebrew or Greek text of the Old Testament, but was paraphrasing the Latin text.

"wife," agrees with the Hebrew. In the Septuagint the order is reversed. Then, where Calvin has the pronoun, *eius*, the Hebrew and Greek have "of thy neighbour." Finally, in the Hebrew and Septuagint there is one verb, *חָמַד* and *ἐπιθυμέω* respectively. But Calvin has two verbs, *concupiscere* and *desiderare*.

From the evidence presented above it is clear that Calvin did not translate the original Hebrew or the Greek of the Septuagint. This leaves only one possibility, namely, he used a Latin text. The question which now must be answered is, Which version?

In order to answer this question, the Latin Bibles in Princeton University and Seminary were checked. These Bibles were examined:

(1) Biblia Sacra, Nicholaus Jensen, Venitiis, 1479, 1501.

(2) Biblia Sacra Latina, editio vulgate, cum interp. Hebraicorum Nominum, Basel, 1412. The book was printed by Johannes de Amerbach.

(3) Biblia Sacra Latina cum glossa ordinaria de Walafridus Strabo. The printer was Adolf Rusch at Strassburg. The copy in the University Library has no date; the seminary copy is dated 1481.

(4) Biblia Sacra Latina. Published by Sebastianus Brant, Hammelburg, 1501.

(5) Biblia Sacra Latina. Published by John Tornaesium at Basel, n. d.

(6) Biblia Latina cum postillis Nicholai de Lyra et additionibus Pauli Burgensis. Printed by Anton Koberger at Nurnberg in 1485, 1497, and 1501.

(7) Biblia cum concordantiis veteris et novi testamenti... Basel, 1520.

(8) Biblia Polyglotta adidit Francisco Ximenes. Industria Guillelmi de Brocario in Academia Complutensi, 1514-17.

(9) Biblia cum Concordantiis Veteris et Novi Testamenti et Sacrorum Canonum...Basel, 1526.

(10) Jerome's Liber Psalmorum Iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi, published by Erasmus in his edition of Jerome's works at Basel in 1526.[1]

(11) Jerome's Liber Psalmorum Iuxta Septuaginta Interpretes (Gallicanum Psalterium et Romanum Psalterium).

(12) Santes Pagnino's Veteris et Novi Testamenti nova translatio, Lyons, 1527.

(13) Luther's _Text der Vulgata-Revision_, Vol., 5 of Deutsche Bibel.

As a result of comparing Scriptural quotations from Calvin's _Institutes_ with the above mentioned versions of the Latin Bible, one fact becomes clear: Not one of the reformer's references agrees _ad litteram_ with any Latin text so far examined. But it is equally clear that his quotations are closer to the Latin Bibles than to the Hebrew and Greek. Calvin, for example in the second commandment uses _sculptile_, which is employed in all the Latin Bibles, except Pagnino's translation. He has _imaginem_.[2] Again, Calvin follows the mistake of Jerome and the revisors of the Vulgate in having _fortis_ instead of _Deus_. Finally, a study of the tenth commandment will show how Calvin agrees with the Vulgate against the Masoretic text and the Septuagint.

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[1] The texts of Pagnino's translation and of Jerome's Hebrew Psalter are found in Biblia Sacra Benedicti Ariae Montani, 6 Vols., (Antwerp: Christoph Plantinus), 1668.

[2] _Ibid_., Vol. I, p. 251.

Hebrew	Greek	Vulgate	Calvin
לֹא תַחְמֹד בֵּית	Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις	Non concupisces	Non concupisces
רֵעֶךָ לֹא־תַחְמֹד	τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ	donum proximi	donum proximi
אֵשֶׁת רֵעֶךָ	πλησίον σου	tui nec deside-	tui nec deside-
	Οὐκ ἐπιθυμήσεις	rabis uxorem	rabis uxorem
	τὴν οἰκίαν τοῦ	eius.	eius.
	πλησίον σου		

On the basis of this evidence it is affirmed that Calvin employed in one way or another the Vulgate. This view is substantiated by studying Calvin's quotation of Daniel 3 in the first paragraph of De lege. The reformer employs this text to support his statement that all things in heaven and earth are created for God's glory. There is, however, no verse in this chapter of the Hebrew and Greek Bibles which refer to this notion at all. On the other hand, verses 59-63 in the Vulgate support Calvin's contention.

It may be concluded, then, that as far as the Old Testament is concerned Calvin used the Vulgate. This thesis, however, runs into difficulties when the reformer's quotations from the Psalms are checked. In the first three chapters of the Institutes there are twenty eight quotations from the Psalms. Twenty seven of these follow the numbering as found in the Hebrew Bible. Only once does Calvin agree with the numbering of the Psalms in the Vulgate, and that is in his quotation of Psalm twenty one to confirm his argument that the article of the Creed, "He descended into hell," means that Christ was afflicted by God. How, then, can we explain the fact that Calvin quotes the Psalms according to the Hebrew Bible?

The Psalter used in medieval Latin Bibles was the Gallican version of Jerome's translation of the Psalms. This version was based on the Septuagint and therefore follows the numbering of the Psalms in the LXX.[1] This was the version of the Psalms which Calvin studied as a boy.

In 1526, however, Erasmus published an edition of Jerome's works. Among these, in the eighth volume, is a copy of Jerome's Hebrew Psalter.[2] A comparison of Calvin's quotations from the Psalms with the numbering of this Psalter indicates that the reformer used the Hebrew Psalter of Jerome.

But, if he used the Hebrew Psalter of Jerome, how can we explain the fact that he gives Psalm 21 as the reference for "Deus, Deus meus, quare dereliquisti me," since in this Psalter it is Psalm 22. The quotation is, however, in Psalm 21 in the Gallican Psalter. The simplest answer to the question is to affirm that Calvin misquoted Erasmus' edition of Jerome's Hebrew Psalter. But is it a mere coincidence that he numbered the Psalm according to the Gallican Psalter? This problem will be taken up a little later.

The New Testament

We now turn to the New Testament. The procedure which will be followed here will be the same as that for the Old Testament. Having compared all biblical references from the New Testament with the various editions of the New Testament extant in Calvin's day, we present here the evidence from the longest quotations from New Testament Scripture in the Institutes. For the purpose of this study Calvin's quotations will be taken as the model. We shall compare the different versions with them and note any divergencies. The two longest passages from the New Testament cited by the reformer are the Lord's Prayer and First Corinthians 14:16-17.

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[1] Cf. J. M. Harden, Psalterium Iuxta Hebraeos Hieronymi (London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge), 1922, p. v.

[2] Cf., Ibid., p. vi. I am indebted to Dr. John H. Marks for this reference.

The narrative of the Lord's Prayer which Calvin uses is that of Luke. This becomes evident by comparing the reformer's quotation with the relevant passage in Matthew and Luke.

A comparison of the Vulgate text with Calvin's Institutes makes clear that the reformer did not use the Vulgate. This assertion may be substantiated by two considerations. First, there are words which are slightly different. Where Calvin has "ut in coelo, ita," the Vulgate reads "sicut in coelo, et." Again, where Calvin's text reads "Remitte," the Vulgate has "et dimitte." Of more importance is the use of "supersubstantialem" in the Vulgate, whereas Calvin has "quotidianum." Second, the Vulgate does not have the words, "Qui tuum est regnum et potentia et gloria, in saecula saeculorum." The inclusion of these words and the use of quotidianum indicate that Calvin did not use a Vulgate text.

On the other hand, Calvin's quotation of the Lord's Prayer and the Latin text of Erasmus' Greek New Testament[1] are almost in perfect agreement, almost but not quite. Where Calvin has "Adveniat," Erasmus' text reads "Veniat;" and instead of the reformer's "ut in coelo, ita," Erasmus has "quemadmodum in coelo, sic etiam." Even these variants disappear if we assume that Calvin translated Erasmus' Greek text of the New Testament. Calvin's "adveniat," would be a translation of ἐλθέτω, and his "ut...ita" of "ὡς...καὶ."

A study of the Corinthians passage in Calvin, the Vulgate, and Erasmus makes it clear that it is impossible to identify the text of the Vulgate or of Erasmus with that in the Institutes. The points of agreement and disagreement are evident below.

Calvin	Vulgate	Erasmus
si benedixeris spiritu is qui implet locum idiotae, quomodo at tuam benedictionem dicet, Amen, quandoquidam quid dicas nescit? Nam tu gratias agis, sed alius non aedificatur	si benedixeris spiritu qui supplet locum idiotae, quomodo dicit Amen super tuam benedictionem, quoniam quid dicas nesciat? Nam tu quidem bene gratias agis, sed alter non aedificatur	si benedixeris spiritu[2] is qui implet locum indocti, quomodo dicturus est, Amen, at tuam gratiarum actionem? Quandoquidem quid dicas nescit. Nam tu quidem bene gratias agis, verum alius non aedificatur.

It will be noted that Calvin and the Vulgate use the term "idiotae," whereas Erasmus has "indocti." Again, the reformer and the Vulgate have "benedictionem," while Erasmus has "gratiarum actionem." Then, Calvin and the Vulgate agree against Erasmus by having "sed," instead of "verum." On the other hand,

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[1] D. Erasmus, Greek New Testament, (Basel: John Froben), 1527.

[2] The 1516 edition of Erasmus' Greek New Testament omits "spiritu" in both the Greek and Latin texts.

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Calvin	Vulgate	Erasmus
si benedixeris spiritu	si benedixeris spiritu	si benedixeris spiritu[2]
is qui implet locum	qui supplet locum	is qui implet locum
idiotae, quomodo at	idiotae, quomodo	indocti, quomodo
tuam benedictionem	dicit Amen super tuam	dicturus est, Amen,
dicet, Amen, quando-	benedictionem, quoniam	at tuam gratiarum
quidam quid dicas	quid dicas nesciat?	actionem? Quando-
nescit? Nam tu	Nam tu quidem bene	quidem quid dicas
gratias agis, sed	gratias agis, sed	nescit. Nam tu quidem
alius non aedificatur	alter non aedificatur	bene gratias agis, verum
		alius non aedificatur.

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[1] D. Erasmus, Greek New Testament, (Basel: John Froben), 1527.

[2] The 1516 edition of Erasmus' Greek New Testament omits "spiritu" in both the Greek and Latin texts.

Calvin and Erasmus have "is qui implet," where the Vulgate reads "qui supplet." They also agree against the Vulgate by having "quandoquidam" in place of "quoniam." Again, Calvin and Erasmus have "nescit," where the Vulgate reads "nesciat." Finally, Calvin and Erasmus have "alius," where the Vulgate reads "alter." There is one instance where the Vulgate and Erasmus agree against Calvin: where the reformer has "gratias agis," they have "bene gratias agis."

Conclusions

Calvin did not use the Vulgate text of the Lord's Prayer. It may be assumed that he used the same New Testament for all his biblical quotations from this part of Scripture. We affirm that he employed Erasmus' Greek New Testament text. This explains the slight divergencies from Erasmus' Latin text. It is not surprising that in translating the Greek he used familiar words, namely the words of the Vulgate. This explains the similarities between Calvin's quotations and the Vulgate text.

We affirm, then, that Calvin used the Vulgate for his Old Testament quotations, except in the case of the Psalter, and Erasmus' *Greek New Testament* for his references from the New Testament. It is clear, however, to anyone who has made a cursory study of Calvin's quotations that he does not quote the Vulgate literally. How, then, are we to account for these divergencies from the text? The answer is that Calvin quoted from memory. The implication of this statement is that Calvin, except in the case of the Lord's Prayer, never quotes the Scripture *ad litteram*, but always cites them *ad sensum*. He had no interest in quoting

Scripture word for word.

In support of this view is the fact that on two occasions the reformer simply refers to Matthew ult. Calvin knew that the passage had in mind was towards the end of the Gospel, but he could not remember the exact chapter. There is also one instance in which he simply gives the book of the New Testament from which he wishes to make a reference. This is a reference to Second Thessalonians. Finally, there is the case noted above[1] where Calvin gives the reference for "Deus, Deus meus..." as Psalm 21. He was quoting from memory and reverted to the numbering of the Psalm as he had learned it in his boyhood, namely, to the Gallican Psalter.

Theological Sources

In the first three chapters of the first edition of the *Institutes* there are very few references to patristic sources. These authorities may be divided into two groups: first, those quoted explicitly by Calvin; those which he clearly had in mind. As regards the former, the following authorities are referred to by the reformer.

(1) Origen, *In Exodum Homilia*.[2]

(2) Augustine, *Quaestiones veteris et novi Testamenti*.[3]

(3) *Opus imperfectum in Matthaeum*.[4]

(4) Augustine, *De verbis Apostoli*.[5]

(5) Ambrose, *De Isaac et anima*.[6]

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[1] *Supra*, p. 62.
[2] *Infra*, p. 94, line 22.
[3] *Ibid*., p. 95, line 3.
[4] *Ibid*., p. 95, line 8.
[5] *Ibid*., p. 121, line 64.
[6] *Ibid*., p. 220, line 24.

There is no doubt that the reformer had the following authors in mind.

(1) Augustine, *Epistola LV* and *De dono perseverantiae*.[1]

(2) Gregory the Great, *Epistolae*.[2]

(3) Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*.[3]

(4) John Eck, *Enchiridion*.[4]

(5) Faber Stabulensis, *In Omne Epistola Pauli Commentaria*.[5]

(6) Melanchthon, *Loci Communes*[6] and *Apologia*.[7]

(7) Servetus, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*.[8]

These authorities are mentioned here. They will be discussed in the appropriate place in Part Two.

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[1] *Ibid*., p. 89, line 13; 90, line 21, and p. 109, line 22.
[2] *Ibid*., p. 83, line 12.
[3] *Ibid*., p. 71, line 6; p. 247, line 19.
[4] *Ibid*., p. 81, line 5; p. 83, line 1; p. 97, line 20; p. 220, line 17.
[5] *Ibid*., p. 228, line 15.
[6] *Ibid*., p. 141, line 24; p. 215, line 5; p. 222, line 248.
[7] *Ibid*., p. 154, line 4; p. 155, line 4; p. 219, line 237.
[8] *Ibid*., p. 146, line 16; p. 151, line 19; p. 153, line 2; p. 173, line 26.

PART TWO

A CRITICAL TRANSLATION OF THE 1536 EDITION OF THE INSTITUTES

CHAPTER ONE

CONCERNING THE LAW, WHICH CONTAINS AN EXPOSITION OF THE DECALOGUE

(42) Sacred doctrine consists almost entirely of these two parts: the knowledge of God and the knowledge of ourselves. Now for the present we must learn these things about God. First, we must hold with a firm conviction as incontrovertible that God is infinite wisdom, justice, goodness, mercy, truth, virtue[1] and life: so that there is in no sense any other wisdom, justice, goodness, mercy, truth, virtue and life.[2] (Baruch 3:12-14; James 1:17), And wherever a (43) particle of these perfections appears it proceeds from God (Proverbs 16:4). Second, all things which are in heaven and earth were created for his glory (Psalm 148:1-14; Daniel 3:59-63). And so it is rightly due to him, that every one according to the law of his nature should serve him,[3] consider his dominion, submit to his majesty, and, by obeying him, recognize him as Lord and King (Romans 1:20). In the third place, he himself is a just judge, and will execute stern vengeance upon those who depart from his precepts, who fail to submit in all things to do his will,

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[1] The term, "virtue," must be understood in its original Latin connotation, namely, strength. Hence the vocable, as employed here, does not have any ethical significance. The antinonym employed by Calvin is "impotentia."

[2] All wisdom, justice, etc., in this world are not only patterned after these divine perfections, but actually derive their existence from God.

[3] Barth has dropped the words "illi deberi, ut singula pro naturae suae ratione." This is due to homoeoteleuton.

and who think, say or do other things than those which pertain to his glory (Psalm 7:9-11; Romans 2:1-16). In the fourth place, he is compassionate and gentle, and ready to receive with kindness the poor and wretched who seek refuge in his benignity, and who place themselves in his trust. He is ready to spare and forgive, if any ask pardon from him; he wills to succour and aid, those who implore his assistance; he will save those who put and make fast their trust in him (Psalm 103:3-4; 8-11; Isaiah 55:6; Psalm 25:6-11 and 85:5-7,10). In order that we may arrive at a sure knowledge of ourselves, we must hold this point first: that Adam, the parent of us all, was created in the image and likeness of God (Genesis 1:26-27), that is, he was endowed with wisdom, righteousness, and holiness, and by means of these gifts of grace,[1] he thus cleaved to God, so that he would have lived in him forever, had he remained in this integrity of nature which he had received from God.

(44) But as soon as he feel into sin (Genesis 3) this image and likeness of God was erased and obliterated, that is, he lost all the gifts of divine grace, by means of which

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[1] Calvin's use of the formula "his donia gratiae" involves ambiguity. The phrase may be interpreted in a Roman Catholic sense as donum superadditum. On the other hand, it may refer to the gracious gifts of God. But Calvin makes clear what he had in mind a little later. He says that these gifts of God were lost and that this meant "omnia divinae gratiae dona perdidit, quibus in viam vitae deduci poterat." This clearly points to the Roman dogma of praeternatural gifts, and as such is a hangover from Medieval Theology.

he could have been led into the way of life. Furthermore, he was cut off from God, and was made a complete stranger. And, as a consequence, he was stripped and divested of all wisdom, righteousness, virtue and life, which cannot be possessed except in God,[1] as was said before, Wherefore, nothing remained in him except ignorance, iniquity, impotence,[2] death and judgment (Romans 5:12-21): for these are the fruit of sin. This calamity fell not only upon Adam, but also upon us who are his seed and posterity. Therefore, as all of us are descended from Adam, we are all ignorant and deprived of God, perverse, corrupt and destitute of all good. Truly our heart is especially inclined toward all evil, and given over to depraved longings, and enthralled by these, and rebellious against God (Jeremiah 17:9). But if we occasionally display any good in our outward appearance, our inmost desire, nevertheless, remains in its own crooked perversity, and the heart is first, or rather, stands for all else, under the judgment of God, who does not judge according to outward appearance, nor values the external magnificance of the great, but considers the secret things of the heart (I Samuel 16:7; Jeremiah 17:10). And so, although a man
(45) may have externally noble appearance of sanctity, it is nothing but hypocrisy and even an abomination before God,

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[1] Except by a man who is "in God."

[2] The antinonym of virtus.

since the thoughts of his mind remain perverse and corrupt.

Although we are born in such a condition that it is not in our power to do anything that might be acceptable to God, neither is it within our ability to please, nevertheless, we do not cease to owe him that very thing which we cannot pay;[1] for since we are the creatures of God, we are bound to serve his honour and glory, and to regulate our conduct according to his commandments. Nor may we offer the excuse that we lack the ability, and that we are not able to pay, just as if we were bankrupt debtors. For the guilt is ours and from our sin, which holds us in bondage, so that we neither will nor are able to do good (John 8:34-38; Romans 7:15-25). Then, since God is the just avenger of crimes, we must recognize that we are exposed to the curse and that we deserve the judgment of eternal death; since there is not one of us who either wills or is able to do those things for which he is responsible.

For this reason Scripture calls us all "sons of the wrath" of God, and proclaims that we are all going headlong to death and perdition (Ephesians 2:1-3; Romans 3:9-20). Therefore, there is no reason left to man why he should seek in himself his own righteousness, virtue, life, and salvation, all of which does not exist except in God alone, from whom man is estranged and separated by his sin (Hosea 13:4-9). Man will find in himself nothing except unhappiness, impotency, death, (46) and finally hell itself. In order that men may not be ignorant of these things, the Lord inscribed as, as it were, stamped the law on the hearts of all men[1] (Romans 2:15). This law is none other than conscience, which is a witness within us of the things which we owe to God, and which shows to us what is good and what is bad, and thus accuses us and holds us as guilty, while we are conscious in ourselves that we have not performed our duty (as was fitting.)* Since, however, man is bloated with arrogance and ambition and blinded by self-love so that he cannot scrutinize himself and, as it were, descend into himself, so that he may learn to humble himself and to lower himself and to confess his own misery, the Lord has laid down a written law for us, by means of which we may be taught about perfect righteousness, what it is, how it is, and of how many parts it consists. For if we are wholly fixed in God, we shall not tend toward, nor aim at, anyone else whatever we think, desire, do, or speak. This doctrine of righteousness clearly shows us how far we are from the right way. This is also the purpose of all the promises and curses proposed to us in the law itself. For in the law the Lord promises that if anyone by his deeds will fulfill perfectly and exactly whatever it commands, the Lord will recompense him with the reward of eternal salvation (Leviticus 18:5). By which he actually shows us (47) that that perfection of life taught in the law is truly righteousness, and that he regards it as such, and that it shall be worthy of such a reward, if it could be found among men. On the other hand, he decrees a curse and pronounces the judgment of eternal death upon all who will not keep fully and without any exception all the righteousness of the law (Deuteronomy 27:26; Galatians 3:10). Certainly, this punishment binds together all men who ever were, are, or shall be. Among these not one can be shown who is not a transgressor of the law. Wherefore, the law, while it teaches us the will of God, which we are bound to fulfill and towards which we are in debt, and while it shows us that we may not accomplish completely any of these things which are prescribed by God (Romans 3:19, 7:7-25), is clearly a mirror for us, in which it is possible to perceive and contemplate our sin and curse, just as in a mirror we commonly look at the dirt and stains of our face. And strictly speaking, this written law is nothing else but the witness of the natural law, which from time to time arouses our memory and impresses on us those things which, taught by the law of nature within our hearts, we have not learned sufficiently. It is easy to understand now what must be learned from the law; namely, that God is our Creator, Lord, and Father; that for this reason we owe him glory, honour and love; yet since not one of us performs his duties, all of us are worthy of malediction, judgment, and finally eternal death. We must, then, (48) seek another way of salvation than through the righteousness of our works. And this way is the remission of our sins. Furthermore, since it is not in our power or ability to pay what we owe to the law, we must despair of ourselves and ask and hope for help from another quarter. After we lower ourselves to this humility and submission, then the Lord shall cause his light to shine upon us, and show himself accessible, merciful, gentle, and indulgent; of whom it is written: "He resisteth the proud and giveth grace to the humble" (James 4:6; 1 Peter 5:5). And first, if we pray with confidence that his wrath be turned aside and ask pardon, without doubt he will grant it to us; he will remit whatever our sins merited and receive us in his mercy. Then, if we implore his helping hand, in the firm persuasion that, armed with his defense, we can do all things, he will grant us by virtue of his good will a new heart (Ezekiel 36:26) to will his commandments, and a new strength to be strong to do them.[1] And,

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[1] Cf., Anselm, *Cur Deus Homo*, where the notion of debt is the Leitmotif."

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[1] Calvin accepts the traditional view of lex naturae. It is a law written in the hearts of all men. It is conscience. Its clearest manifestation is in the Ten Commandments. For a concise exposition of the traditional view in the Medieval Church, Cf., Aquinas, Summa, I-II, Q. 100, Art. 1.

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[1] Calvin's soteriology includes not only justification by faith but also a concept of newness.

indeed, he grants us all these things for the sake of Jesus Christ our Lord, who being one God with the Father (John 1:1-14), put on our flesh, that he might enter into a covenant with us, and bring us close to God, from whom our sins had separated us for a long time (Isaiah 53:4-11). He, by the merit of his death, payed our debts to the justice of God, and caused his wrath to abate from malediction and judgment which were
(49) hovering over us, redeeming us, and bearing in his own body the penalty of sin, in order to release us from it. (Ephesians 2:1-6, 11-22; Colossians 1:20-22). Coming down to earth he brought with himself all the riches of heavenly blessings which he poured out upon us with an open hand (John 1:14-16, 7:38; Romans 8:32). For these are the gifts of the Holy Spirit by whom we are born again, extricated from the power and chains of the devil, graciously adopted among the children of God, and sanctified to do every good work. By the same Spirit also, as long as we are held in this mortal body, depraved urges die~~s~~ in us, namely, the desires of the flesh and whatever the twisted, corrupt perversity of our nature breeds. By the same Spirit we are renewed from day to day, so that we may walk and live in newness of life and justice. These are the gifts which are offered to us by God and given to us in Christ our Lord: the free remission of sins, peace, and reconciliation with God, the gifts and favours of the Holy Spirit, if only we embrace and

receive them with firm faith. Firm faith means leaning, with great trust, on the divine goodness, and, as it were, resting upon it, and not doubting for a moment that the word of God which promises all these things to us is strength and truth (Romans 3:21-26, 5:1-11). Finally, if we commune with Christ, we possess in him all the heavenly treasures and gifts of the Holy Spirit which lead us to salvation. We never attain these except by a true and living faith. We likewise recognize that all (50) our good is in him, and that we are truly nothing except in him. Furthermore, we hold this for certain that in Christ we are made children of God and heirs of the heavenly kingdom (John 1:12; Romans 8:14-17). On the other hand, those who have no part in Christ, whoever they may be, whatever they may do, however much they may exert themselves, go out to destruction and confusion and to the judgment of eternal death, rejected by God and excluded from every hope of salvation (John 3:18-20; 1 John 5:12). And this knowledge of ourselves and of our need and calamity, by which we are taught to humiliate our very selves and to even cast ourselves down before God and to seek his mercy (Jeremiah 31:18-20), as well as that faith which offers us a taste of the divine goodness and mercy, by which he deals with us in Christ himself, are not of us, or placed within our power. Therefore, we must ask God, not with simulated penitence, that he lead us to that knowledge of ourselves, and with real faith to that knowledge of his kindness and sweetness, which he exhibits in his Christ, so that we may be led, with him as the leader, to eternal beatitude. He is the only way in which the Father is reached (Philippians 1:6; John 14:6; Romans 5:1-11).

The ten commandments of the law were logically arranged into two tables (Exodus 32:15, 34:1; Deuteronomy 10:1). The first table consists of the first four commandments, by which we are taught those things which we owe to God:[1] namely, that we should acknowledge and confess him alone as God, that we should love, honour, (51) and fear him above all and before all, and that we should place in him alone all our hopes and resources and always seek his help. In the second table are the remaining six commandments. These commandments explain love, and the services of love which are due to our neighbour for the sake of God. For this reason (as the Evangelists recount) (Luke 10:27)[2] our Lord briefly summed up all the law under two heads: that we should love God with all our heart, with all our mind, and with all our strength, and that we should love our neighbour as ourselves. But, although all the law is included under these two heads, our Lord, nevertheless, to remove every pretext of excuse, willed to develope at greater length and more explicitly by means of the Ten Commandments, not only whatever refers to honour, fear and love of God, but also those things which pertain to the love which he commands us to show towards our neighbour for his sake. But before he gives the commandments, he prefaces them in this manner (Exodus 20:7; Deuteronomy 5:6).

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[1] Calvin does not intend to enumerate the four commandments in this place, but to simply describe the substance of the four.

[2] The reference is omitted in C. R. and Barth.

I AM THE LORD THY GOD, WHICH BROUGHT THEE OUT OF THE LAND OF EGYPT, AND[1] OUT OF THE HOUSE OF BONDAGE.

With these words he admonishes us that he is the Lord who both has the right to command and who must be obeyed. Besides, he recalls to our memory how magnificently he showed his strength and power when he liberated the Jewish people from the slavery of Pharaoh and the (52) Egyptians. He shows the same power daily, as long as he frees his elect (who are the true Israelites)* from the bondage of their sins (which is typified by the name "Egypt")*.[2] He manifests his power also when he extricates his elect from the chains of the devil (who in a spiritual sense is Pharaoh, the Lord of the Egyptians, that means the Lord of those who walk in their own lusts).* After this he formulates the first commandment thus:

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[1] The "et" in the preface is not on any known text of the Bible. Calvin himself dropped it in the 1539 edition.

[2] Calvin in his typology follows Paul to the extent that the apostle speaks of Adam being a type of Christ (Romans 5:14). The reformer also has biblical authority for employing the term "Egypt" in this way, since the author of Revelation so used it (Apoc. 11:8). Pharaoh, however, is never used in a typological sense in the Bible. But compare page 304 f.n.3.

FIRST COMMANDMENT

THOU SHALT HAVE NO FOREIGN GODS BEFORE ME

By this commandment we are forbidden to divert to another the trust which we ought to place completely in him, or to flee to another in search of help, or to transfer to another the praise of any good or power which ought to be his alone (Isaiah 30:1-5, 31:1; Jeremiah 2:13,32). Much more, we must so love and fear him above everything else that we recognize him alone as our God, and make fast our hope and our trust in him (1 Timothy 1:17; Deuteronomy 6:4-14; 10:12-13), bearing in mind that whatever good happens to us comes from him. And we must not tolerate anything at all in which he is not honoured and worshipped (1 Corinthians 10:23-31). And we must do this not only so as to make it clear with our speech and demeanor and every outward sign that we have not other God, but so as to show it even with all our mind, heart and inner striving. For not only are our words and external acts before him, but he can perceive the inmost recesses of our hearts and the inmost thoughts of our minds more truly and surely than we can (1 Chronicles 28:9).

(53) THE SECOND COMMANDMENT

THOU SHALT NOT MAKE FOR THYSELF A SCULPTURED IMAGE, NOR ANY LIKENESS OF THOSE THINGS WHICH ARE IN HEAVEN ABOVE, OR IN THE EARTH BENEATH, OR IN THE WATERS WHICH ARE UNDER THE EARTH. THOU SHALT NOT ADORE THEM NOR SERVE THEM.

The commandment means that we owe all our worship and adoration to God alone. God is incomprehensible, incorporeal, invisible, and thus embraces all things, so that he cannot be confined to any one place. Let us not dream, then, that he can be portrayed by any figure or represented by any sort of picture. Let us not worship an idol as if it were the likeness of God, but rather, let us adore God, who is Spirit, in spirit and in truth (Deuteronomy 6:13-16; 10:12f; 1 Kings 8:22-27; John 1:9-14; 1 Timothy 1:17;[1] John 4:24). Accordingly, the first commandment makes known to us that there is one God, besides which no other dieties ought to be imagined or worshipped. The second commandment teaches us what manner of God he is, and with what sort of service he is to be honoured, lest we dare ascribe anything carnal to him, or make him the subject[2] of our senses, as if he could be comprehended by our stupid heads, or represented by any visible form. Those[1] who by a miserable pretext attempt to defend the accursed idolatry, which for many ages has engulfed and suverted the true religion, direct one's attention to this point: "Images," they say, "are not regarded as (54) gods." Neither were the Jews so completely thoughtless before they made the calf that they did not remember that it was God's power that had led them out of Egypt. Nor must one regard the pagans as so stupid that they did not understand that God was other than wood or stone. For they changed the pictures at will, but they always kept in mind the same gods. Moreover, many pictures were dedicated to one God; they did not imagine, however, as many gods as there were pictures. Besides, they consecrated daily new pictures, but they did not think that they were making new gods. What then? Every idolater, whether Jewish or Gentile, has been persuaded that God is such as the vanity of his mind had conceived him. To this vanity is added the depravity that the sort of god which they had imagined in their minds they expressed by means of images. The mind, therefore, conceived the idol, the hand gave it birth; nevertheless, the Jews thought that under such images they worshipped the eternal God, the one true Lord of heaven and earth, and the heathen that they worshipped their own (albiet false gods) whom they imagined to inhabit heaven. Furthermore, they did not believe that God was with them, unless he showed himself corporeally present. To gratify this blind desire they set up signs, in which they believed God appeared before their carnal eyes. And since they thought that they saw God in these things, they also worshipped him in them. Finally, their (55) minds and eyes having been glued to them, they began to grow more brutish and became senseless and dumbfounded, as if there were something divine in the images. This actually happened in times past, and to deny that it occurs in our time is to lie impudently. Why, then, do they bow down before images? When they are about to pray, Why do they turn themselves toward them, as if toward the ears of God? Why do they fiercely contend for them, as they would for hearths and homes, even to the point of slaughter and massacre, as if it were more bearable for them to lose the one true God than their idols? And I have not yet begun to enumerate the gross errors of the masses (which are almost countless and occupy nearly the hearts of all)* I only mention what they themselves acknowledge when they are most anxious to clear themselves of the charge of idolatry. "We do not call them gods," they say.[1] Nor did the Jews or Gentiles call their idols gods; they called them merely the signs or pictures of the gods. And yet the prophets and all the Scriptures did not cease from denouncing their fornication with wood and stone. They were denounced for doing the very things which are daily practiced by those who wish to be considered as Christians, that is, they worshipped God carnally in wood and stones (Deuteronomy 32:37;[2] Isaiah 40:19 - 20; Jeremiah 2:27; Ezekiel 6:4-6; Habakkuk 2:18-19).

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[1] The *editio princeps* has "1 Tim. 1, 10." The 10 is clearly a mistake. C. R. dropped it, but without noting the fact in a footnote.

[2] The word "subject" is employed here in a psychological sense, namely, as an individual subject to investigation.

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[1] Calvin undoubtedly has Eck in mind. In his *Enquiridion*, written in 1527, Eck had argued that the Jews were prohibited from worshipping foreign gods and their images, and then says: "at quia nos sanctos non habemos pro diis, non prohibemur illorum facere imagines..." *Enchiridion*, XV, "De Imaginibus Crucifixi & Sanctorum." (Tubingen: Hulderichus Morhardum), 1527.

Their last way of escape is to say: "Images are the books of the illiterate."[3] Even if we concede this (although it is absolutely groundless, since it is all too certain that they serve no other purpose than to be worshipped) I still do not see that images are of any (56) use to the ignorant (especially those which are meant to represent God)* except that they make men believe that God has the form of a man.[1] Even the images which they set up to honour saints, What are they but examples of the most dissolute luxury and obscenity? And if anyone should desire to imitate them he would deserve to be flogged. Indeed, even harlots in their brothels are more chastely and modestly attired than those images of virgins. Let them, then, fashion their images with at least a little modesty, so that their pretence that they are books of some kind of holiness may be a little less of a sham. But even then we shall reply, that this is not the way to teach the people of God, whom the Lord willed to have instructed[2] in a doctrine far different from such folderol. This is the common doctrine which he proposed to all, the preaching of his word. So of what would have been the use of erecting so many crosses of wood, stone, and even of silver and gold, if this had been frequently impressed upon the people, that Christ was delivered up for our sins, that he might bear our curse upon the cross and wash away our sins? From this one word alone they could learn much more than from a thousand crosses of wood and stone. But avaricious men fix their minds and eyes more tenaciously on gold and silver crosses than on any words of God. And whom, may I ask, do they call uneducated? Those, indeed, whom the Lord recognizes as taught-of-God (John 6:45). Oh! the incomparable value of images, which cannot be (57) patched up by means of any weighty argument! And to make even clearer how severely he execrates all infidelity and idolatry, he adds to these two commandments that HE IS THE LORD, OUR GOD, MIGHTY AND JEALOUS, WHO VISITS THE INIQUITY OF THE FATHERS UPON THE SONS UNTO THE THIRD AND FOURTH GENERATION OF THOSE THAT HATE HIS NAME, BUT SHOWS MERCY UNTO THOUSANDS WHO LOVE HIM AND KEEP HIS COMMANDMENTS. It is almost as if he would say that it is in him alone that we ought to adhere, and that he cannot bear having an equal; that he will even avenge his majesty and glory, if anyone should transfer it to graven images or other things; and that, not just once, but on the father, sons and grandchildren, that is, throughout all ages; as he also shows his mercy and lovingkindness forever to those who love to keep his law.

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[1] Eck, Ibid.

[2] The editors of the Opera (C.R.) added this text, but did not indicate that it was their addition.

[3] In the 1550 edition, Calvin identifies the source of this teaching, namely, Gregory the Great. Gregory wrote to Serenus: "Idcirco enim pictura in Ecclesiis adhibetur, ut hi qui litteras nesciunt, saltem in parietibus vidiendo legant quae legere in Codicibus non valent." Epistola, Bk. IX, 105. (P. L. 77, 1027). Again, "Aliud est enim picturam adorare, aliud per picturae historiam quid sit adorandum addiscere. Nam quod legentibus scriptura, hoc idiotis praestat pictura cernentibus, quia in ipsa qui litteras nesciunt. Unde et praecipue gentibus pro lectione pictura est." Epistolae, Bk. XI, 13. (P. L. 77, 1128). Gregory is advocating two principles here. First, it is permissible to use object lessions in teaching the Gospel. Second, the abuse of any thing does not argue against its use. The rejection of these principles by the reformer resulted in the secularization of art in Protestant countries.

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[1] The text reads, "anthropomorphitas." The doctrine of the anthropomorphites appeared early in the Church. The term was first used by Jerome in a letter written in A. D. 398/9 against John of Jerusalem. The word also is found in Augustine, *Epistola* 148.

[2] The implication of this sentence is that the Church is composed of laity and the clergy, the taught and the teachers.

THE THIRD COMMANDMENT

THOU SHALT NOT TAKE THE NAME OF THY GOD IN VAIN

The commandment means this: since we must love and fear God,[1] we should not misuse his most holy name[2] in any way. But rather let us magnify him above all things on account of his holiness, give him the glory in all things, whether they be prosperous or adverse, seek him (58) with all our mind, and give him thanks for all things which come from his hand. In brief, let us keep ourselves diligently from every insult or blasphemy of God; let us not name him or speak of him in any way inconsistent with his sublime majesty. And let us not introduce his sacred name except in those things which he has willed that it should be used. For that would profane and desecrate it (Leviticus 20:6-7; Deuteronomy 18:10-12), as do those who place it in the service of necromancy, incantations, blasphemous vows, unlawful exorcisms, and other wicked superstitions. As concerns oaths of allegiance and legal oaths,[3] however, let us not invoke this holy name in any falsehood, for eternal truth cannot be more gravely dishonoured than when it is cited as testimony to a lie (Deuteronomy 5).[4] Finally, we should not use any oaths rashly; even a genuine one may not be employed unless the glory of God or the need of our brethren necessarily demands it. For, with this one exception, any kind of oath is forbidden, as the words of Christ teach us, who, commenting on this head of the law, commands that all our speech be: "yea, yea, nay, nay," and what is beyond that he declares is from the evil one (Matthew 5:37). And here also we must notice that each one of us is prohibited from using any oath on his own private initiative. But when we take that oath which is administered and demanded by the magistrate we do not violate the (59) commandment in the least, since in another place God has given them the authority to administer it, when testimony to the truth is demanded for judgment (Exodus 22:11; Hebrews 6:13-15). Yes, all public oaths are exempt from this prohibition, such as those which Paul took to assert the dignity of the Gospel (Romans 1:9, 9:1f). For the apostles in the performance of their duties are not private men but public ministers of God. Indeed, such oaths can be taken either by princes for the ratification of treatises, or by the people when they swear allegiance to their prince, [1] and so are the other oaths which are not made for private interest but for the common good. It is of prime importance, therefore, that we remember that oaths are not allowed because of passion or pleasure but for the sake of necessity. But, just as it is not permitted to call upon the name of God except, as has been said, to confirm our word, so as often as an oath is used, it must call upon that name and none other. For it redounds to his glory and honour that he who is the only and eternal truth should be, and should be held as, the only witness to the truth (Deuteronomy 6:13; 10:20; Isaiah 45:23, 48:15). Finally, that he might establish more effectively the excellent majesty of his name, the Lord added this to his commandment: **HE WILL NOT HOLD HIM GUILTLESS WHO TAKES HIS NAME IN VAIN.** With these words he has decreed a certain peculiar punishment upon those who violate this commandment.

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[1] Cf., Luther's Der Kleine Katechismus, 1529, in which the formula appears: "Wir sollen Gott furchten und lieben." Luther begins the exposition of each commandment with this formula.

[2] Sacrosanctus is used only with the name of God.

[3] The text reads, "Quod autem ad sacramenta aut iuramenta pertinet."

[4] Omitted by C. R. and Barth. The quotation is a mistake in any case.

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[1] For the use of "jurare in nomen alicuius," see Suetonius, *Lives of the Caesars*, V, 10. "(Claudius) armatos pro contione iurare in nomen suum passus est..."

(60) THE FOURTH COMMANDMENT

REMEMBER THE SABBATH DAY TO HALLOW IT. SIX DAYS THOU SHALT WORK AND DO ALL THY WORK, BUT THE SEVENTH DAY IS THE DAY OF THE LORD THY GOD. THOU SHALT NOT DO ANY WORK ON THIS DAY, THOU OR THY SON, OR THY DAUGHTER, THY MANSERVANT OR THY MAIDSERVANT, THY CATTLE OR THY STRANGER WHO IS WITHIN THY GATES. SINCE IN SIX DAYS THE LORD MADE HEAVEN AND EARTH, THE SEA, AND ALL THINGS WHICH ARE IN THEM, AND ON THE SEVENTH DAY HE RESTED. THEREFORE HE BLESSED IT AND HALLOWED IT.

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The observance of the Sabbath, since it is included under the first table and is called the hallowing of the day, pertains to piety and to the worship of God. Wherefor the Lord never demanded anything so strictly (Exodus 31:12-17; Numbers 15:32-35), and when he wills to indicate by the prophets that all religion had been subverted, he mentions that his Sabbaths have been polluted and desecrated, violated, and neither observed nor sanctified (Jeremiah 17:21-27), as though, when this obedience has been omitted, there remains nothing further in which he could be honoured. For there is not the slightest doubt that this precept was the shadow of the reality to come[1] and was commanded to the Jews for the ceremonial age, so that it represented for them the spiritual worship of God under external observance.[2]
(61) Wherefore, at the advent of Christ, who is the light of the shadows and the truth of the figures, it was abrogated, with the rest of the shadows of the Mosaic law, just as Paul clearly testifies (Galatians 4:1-11;

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[1] The text reads "umbratile."

[2] Calvin probably derived the idea that the sabbath was a figure or type from Augustine. Cf. for example, "Ideoque inter omnia illa decem praecepta solum ibi quod de sabbato positum est, figurate observandum praecipitur; quam figuram nos intelligendam, non etiam per otium corporale celebrandam suscepimus. Cum enim sabbato significetur spiritualis requies..." Augustine, Epistola LV, 12 (P. L. 33, 214).

Colossians 3[1]). The sacred ceremony and external rite by which the faith of the Jews was exercised under the tutelage of the law has been abolished. But we retain the truth of the precept which the Lord willed should be perpetual both to the Jews and to us. Now this is the truth: We must love and fear God in order to find our rest in him. This will come to pass, if we will abdicate completely from our depraved desires which only twist, confuse and harass our consciences (Isaiah 35: 4-10, 58:13-14; Hebrews 3:7-19, 4:9), if we will cease from the wicked works of our flesh, that is from all those things which are born of our concupiscence and the wantonness of our nature, if (in short)* we cease from all the works which are not of the Spirit of God, however much they may exhibit an appearance of human wisdom. All these works are truly servile, and the law of the Sabbath commands us to cease from them, that God may dwell in us, work in us what is good, and rule us by the guidance of his Holy Spirit (John 14:26; Ephesians 3:14-19; 1 Corinthians 3:16; Romans 8:14), whose rule brings peace and tranquility of conscience. This is the true Sabbath, of which that of the Jews was a type[2] and, as it were, a shadow. And so the Sabbath was assigned to (62) the seventh day, for this number has in Scripture the meaning of perfection.[1] In the Scripture we are taught that a perpetual Sabbath is commanded us by God, one which has no end, and further, that it will never be completely and rightly hallowed until the seventh day (Hebrews 4:1-11). And that seventh day is the last and eternal one, into which all of us who are faithful have partly entered, although we have not yet fully reached it. For now, through faith, we have begun our rest in God, in which we still make daily progress, so that then it shall be made perfect, when that saying of Isaiah is fulfilled (Isaiah 66:23) in which the Sabbath of Sabbaths is promised to the Church of God, that is, when "God will be all in all"(1 Corinthians 12:28). This is what the Lord has shown us in the creation of the world which he completed in six days; on the seventh day he rested from all his works, so that by his example we also should cease from all our works, seek our rest in him, and continually aspire to this Sabbath of the seventh day (Genesis 2:1-3).[2]

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[1] The quotation is incorrect. The text is Colossians 2:16-18 Calvin might also have cited Hebrews 10:1.

[2] Cf. Augustine's teaching: "Sabbatum tamen commendatum est priori populo in otio corporaliter celebrandum, ut figura esset sanctificationis in requie spiritus sancti." *Epistola* LV, x. (P. L. 33, 212).

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[1] Cf. Augustine's teaching: "In septimo autem die, id est eodem die septies repito, qui numerus etiam ipse alia ratione perfectus est...De septenarii porro numeri perfectione dici quidem plura possunt, sed et liber iste iam prolixus est." De Civitate Dei, XI, 31 (P.L. 41, 344).

[2] Omitted in C. R. and Barth.

As regards the Lord's day which we now observe, it was not instituted that we should hallow it more, that is, that we should consider it more holy than the other days. For this is God's own prerogative, who has made all days equally honourable (Galatians 4:8-11). However, the Church should convene on this day to pray and to praise God, to hear the word, and to partake of the sacraments (Colossians 3:16). In order to better (63) apply all our zeal to these acts of worship when we are at leisure, we rest from mechanical and manual labours and from all the diversions which belong to the way of this life. There is a similar reason for solemnizing other days, in which we recall the mysteries of our salvation. But if (as it is fitting)* we saturate our mind with the word and through it mortify the works of the old man, not only on festive days, but also on every day, we continually hallow the Sabbath, and begin to observe the Sabbath of Sabbaths, which is commanded here. In short, we do not distinguish one day from another because of any religious scruples, but for the sake of public order. For we have certain prescribed days, not that we may simply have a fiesta on them, as if God is worshipped or delighted by our refraining from work, but because it is necessary for the Church to meet on some day. It is essential, therefor, that a day should be fixed and stated, so that all may be done in an orderly way and without confusion (1 Corinthians 14:40). Thus vanishes the nonsense of the sophists[1] who have infected the world with the Jewish notion that what was ceremonial in this commandment has been abrogated (they call it in their language, the estimation of the seventh day), but that which is moral, that is, the observance of one day in seven, remains. Now this is simply changing the day in contempt of the Jews while (64) retaining the observation of the day. We see only too well what advantage they have gained from such a doctrine. For those who cling to their ordinances far exceed the Jews in their gross and carnal superstitious observance of the Sabbath. So the reproofs which are read in Isaiah (Isaiah 1:13, 58:13) apply to these today no less than to those whom the prophet rebuked in his day.

The Jews had to consider another duty in Sabbath observance, not one pertaining to religion, but one belonging to the observance of equity among men. This called for the occasional remission of the labours of slaves and animals, lest inhuman owners, harassing them continually, should force them to work beyond the just limit. Although here (I think)* Moses pointed to the subsequent usefulness of the institution, rather than to the original reason for instituting it (Exodus 23:11-12; Deuteronomy 5:14f). We must also hold the principle of this equity today, not dictated by any servile necessity, but according to the law of love. Behold! the first four precepts which prescribe how we ought to conduct ourselves with respect to God. With these the first table is brought to a close.

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[1] For an exposition of the view which Calvin here controverts, compare Aquinas, Summa, II-II, The following quotation gives the essence of his argument. AD PRIMUM ERGO. Dicendum quod praeceptum de sanctificatione sabbati, literaliter intellectum, est partim morale, partim autem ceremoniale. Morale quidem quantum ad hoc quod homo deputet aliquod tempus vitae suae ad vacandum divinis...Unde praeceptum de sanctificatione sabbati ponitur inter praecepta decalogi inquantum est praeceptum morale, non inquantum est caeremoniale. Q. 122, Art. 4.

Although contrary to the common and almost universally accustomed form I include four precepts in the first table, I have not done this either without reason or with insufficient reason. For those who divide the commandments differently expunge from the number the second commandment, of which we have spoken, which was undoubtedly put in a distinct place by the Lord's command. (65) The tenth, however, the one about not coveting your neighbour's property, they improperly divide into two, whereas it is one and the same. Furthermore, that such a method of division was unknown in a purer age can be understood from the fact that Origen used this form of ours without controversy (Origen in Exod).[1] Indeed, in Augustine's time the other form had been invented, but it was not approved by all.[1] Without doubt it pleased Augustine himself (Aug. lib. 2 quaest. vet. Testament),[2] for a most trivial reason, because in the triune number (if the first table be confined to three precepts) the mystery of the Trinity shines forth more clearly. In other respects our division pleased him more. (And the author of the unfinished commentary on Matthew agrees with us).[3] And I do not have any doubt that it was done by the devil's deception, so that the commandment by which idolatry is so carefully prohibited might gradually slip from men's mind. We have had to touch on this matter in passing, lest anyone should wonder at our division and laugh at it, as if it were new and recently devised. There remains the second table.

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[1] Origen, In Exodum homiliae Hom. VIII, "Primum ergo mandatum est Non erunt tibi dii alii, praeter me. Et post hoc sequitur: Non facies tibi idolum...Haec omnia simul nonnulli putant esse unum mandatum. Quod si ita putetur, non complebitur decem numerus mandatorum. Et ubi iam erit Decalogi veritas?" (P. G. 12, 351).

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[1] Cf. for example, Jerome, *Commentaria in epist. ad Ephesios*, VI. "Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam... quod mandatum in Decalogo quintum est." (P. L. 34, 571) See, also, Ambrose, *Commentaria in epist. ad Ephesios*, VI, (P.L. 17, 399f).

[2] As Barth points out, Calvin is mistaken here. The author of this work, called Ambrosiaster, writes: "Haec quatuor verba ad Deum proprie pertinent, et in prima tabula continentur. Reliqua haec sunt: Primum verbum est Honora patrem tuum et matrem tuam." (P. L. 35, 2221f). In the Ambrosiaster, then, the Ten Commandments are divided thus: Four are on the first table and six on the second. This is precisely the arrangement rejected by Augustine. He affirmed that three commandments belonged to the first table and seven to the second. The reason for this division is given by Calvin. For Augustine's own explanation, Cf. Augustine, *Questionum S. Augustini in Heptateuchum*, Bk. II, Q. LXXI, "Mihi tamen videtur congruentius accipi tria illa, et ista septem, quia et Trinitatem videntur illa quae ad Deum pertinent insinuare diligentius intuentibus." (P. L. 34, 620ff).

[3] After reading through this work, we affirm that Calvin's quotation of *Opus imperfectum in Mattheum* is a mistake. (P.G. 56). Calvin, however, retains this authority in the final edition of his *Institutes*. Barth makes no attempt to identify the source. He simply places the authority in the footnotes.

THE FIFTH COMMANDMENT

HONOUR THY FATHER AND THY MOTHER

That is, since we must love and fear God, we should neither neglect our parents nor offend them in any thing. We should rather show them much deference, and respect, and honour them and obey them under the will of God. We should seek to serve them and please them in whatever things we can be of use to them through our efforts (Ephesians 6:1-3; Matthew 15:4). There is (66) added this blessing: THEY SHALL LIVE LONG UPON THE EARTH WHO TREAT THEIR PARENTS WITH THE HONOUR WHICH IS DUE TO THEM. The purpose seems to be a certain special commendation which declares how agreeable to God is the observance of this commandment and rouses us from our stupour and urges us on. At the same time it is added that ungrateful children who have neglected to return mutual kindness and gratitude to their parents may most certainly expect a curse.

THE SIXTH COMMANDMENT

THOU SHALT NOT KILL

That is to say, since we must love and fear God, we should not injure anyone with any sort of an attack, nor be unjust to anyone, nor harass anyone, nor offer violence to anyone. Rather, on the contrary, if there be in us any fear and love of God, let us show goodwill to all men, to friend and to foe. And let us seek to please both. Wherefore, if friend or foe are in danger, we should offer them a helping hand. We should strive to be as kind as we can to both (Matthew 5:43-48).

THE SEVENTH COMMANDMENT

THOU SHALT NOT COMMIT FORNICATION

The object of the commandment is that, since we must love and fear God, we should arrange everything in each department of our life chastely and temperately, what we say as what we do. And since virginity is a unique gift of God, unmarried people should consider what has been given to them (Matthew 5:27-30; Ephesians 5:3-4; 1 Corinthians 6:13-20; Matthew 19:11-12; 1 Corin-
(67) thians 7:1-40). For those who cannot receive this saying have a remedy offered to them by the Lord for the impurity of their flesh. If they do not use it, they oppose God and resist his ordinances. And they should not say (as many do today) that with God's help they can do all things.[1] For the help of God is not at hand except for those who walk in his ways (Psalm 91:1-14), that is

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[1] Cf. John Eck, Dicis votum illud esse impossibile. Si respicis ad naturam, etiam multa alia sunt impossibilia nobis, si respicis gratiam dei adiutricem, nihil est impossibile..." *Enchiridion*, cap, xviii. "De coelibatu clericorum."

to say, in their own calling,[1] from which these persons attempt to withdraw themselves contrary to the will of God. They should not expect the help of God in this obstinacy, but rather should be mindful of what has been said: "Thou shalt not tempt the Lord thy God" (Deuteronomy 6:16; Matthew 4:7). And it is tempting God to strive against the nature which he has given to us, and to spurn his present gifts. Not only do these men do this, but matrimony, which God considered worthy to institute, which he proclaimed honourable in all men, which Christ our Lord sanctified with his presence, which he considered worthy to honour with his first miracle (Genesis 2:18-24; Hebrews 13:4; John 2:1-11), they even dare to call pollution,[2] and so much so that they extoll any kind of celibacy with wonderful praises, as if celibacy were not one thing and virginity another.

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[1] Marriage is a *vocatio*. Roman Catholic theologians limit *vocatio* to ecclesiastics or religious. Cf. the following "An ecclesiastical or religious vocation is the special gift of those who, in the Church of God, follow with pure intention the ecclesiastical profession or the evangelical counsels..." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, XV, "Vocation," p. 498ff. In this article on vocation there is not any reference to any vocation other than that of the ecclesiastical or religious life. In the article, authorities are quoted from patristic and medieval sources. Calvin, however, expands the idea of *vocatio* to include marriage.

[2] Calvin has in mind the attitude of the Roman Catholic Church with respect to the marriage of priests. Cf., for example, the sixth canon of Second Lateran, A.D. 1139, "Decernimus etiam ut ii, qui in ordine subdiaconatus, and supra, uxores duxerint, aut concubinas habuerint, officio atque ecclesiastico beneficio careant. Cum enim ipsi templum Dei, vasa Domini, sacrarium Spiritus sancti debeant esse and dici: indignum est eos cubilibus and immunditiis deservire." Concilium Lateranense, II, canon VI, in Mansi, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio*, XXI, (Venice: Antonius Zatta), 1903, ~~line~~ col 527.

They call celibacy an angelic life,[1] and here they are most unjust to the angels of God, since they compare fornicators, adulterers, and something far more wicked and foul with them.[2] But here there is not the least need for argument, when they are plainly refuted by the (68) fact itself. For we see what horrible punishment the Lord always avenges such arrogance and contempt of his gifts. But neither should married people think that all things are lawful to them. But each man should regard his wife soberly and modestly, and the wife, in turn, her husband. If they do this, they will allow nothing unworthy of the honesty and temperance of marriage. Finally, they should consider themselves to have married in the Lord.

THE EIGHTH COMMANDMENT

THOU SHALT NOT STEAL

The commandment has this meaning: since we must love and fear God, we should neither rob anyone by fraud, nor seize with violent hands what belongs to him. And we should not deceive anyone who is inexperienced in business affairs and contracts, either by selling too high, or by buying at an unjustly low price from those who do not know the cost of things. And we should not lay our hands on the goods of another by means of any kind of cunning or trick. But, rather, if there be in us any fear and love of God, let us make every possible effort, by our advice and by our goods, to assist our friends and enemies, as far as possible, in preserving their possessions. And let us rather give from our own possessions than steal from another. But that is not all. If they are pressed by lack of resources, let us share what we have with them and alleviate their need with our plenty (Isaiah 58:7-9; Romans 12:20; 2 Corinthians 8:14; Ephesians 4:28).

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[1] Cf. Ambrose, "Quoniam quae non nubant, et qui uxores non ducunt, sicut angeli in terris sunt." Exhortatio Virginitatis, I, iv (P.L. 16, 342); Augustine, "Mementote in quocumque sexu sitis, sive mares sive feminae, Angelorum vitam ducere vos in terra." Sermo CXXXII, cap. 3. (P.L. 38, 736).

[2] Calvin has reference to the widespread immorality among the clergy at this time. This fact is admitted by all. Soeur Ieanne de Jussie, writing of Geneva during the period of the Reformation, says: "Il est bien vray que les Prélats and gens d'Eglise pour ce temps ne gardoient dissolument des biens de l'Eglise, tenant femmes en lubricité & adultère, & quasi tout le peuple estoit infect de cest abominable & détestable péché..." Soeur Ieanne de Jussie, Le Levain du Calvinisme, (Genève: Jules-Guillaume Fick), 1865, p. 35.

THE NINTH COMMANDMENT

(69) THOU SHALT NOT BEAR FALSE WITNESS

This commandment teaches us that since we must love and fear God, we should not pursue anyone with false accusations, or tear their reputation apart, or give our tongue to abusive language or biting sarcasm or listen to these things. And we should not feel or suspect anything unfavourable about anyone. But, if there be in us any love and fear of God, let us, as far as possible, feel sincerely and speak honourably about all men, so that, putting a fair construction on all men's words and deeds, we may accept them in as good part as we can (Matthew 7:1-5; Romans 13:8-10, 14:10). The commandment also extends to this: We should not delight in lies, or affect a ludicrous elegance in speech, or lend ourselves to facetious and idle chit-chat (Psalm 5:6; Matthew 12: 36-37; Ephesians 4:25-28, 5:6-11).

THE TENTH COMMANDMENT

THOU SHALT NOT COVET THY NEIGHBOUR'S HOUSE. THOU SHALT NOT DESIRE HIS WIFE, NOR HIS MANSERVANT, NOR HIS MAID-SERVANT, NOR HIS OX, NOR HIS ASS, NOR ANYTHING THAT IS THY NEIGHBOUR'S.

By this commandment, the Lord, whom we should fear and love, forbids every desire for another man's wife, family, possessions, or any of his goods. Wherefore, he (70) prohibits all the more that we should plan any deceit, fraud or trick, even though we can conceal it with an honourable name, by which a wife may leave her husband's bed and board, servants steal away from his control,[1] or by which we may wrest any other goods from him. And we should not by smooth talk estrange a wife from her husband or a servant from his master. Neither should we estrange the husband from his wife, to make her ours after she has been divorced, nor a master from his servants, so that they may come to us after he has driven them out. Finally, we should not arrange any frauds of the sort to which deceitful men are accustomed, by which another man's property may come into our hands. For it is certainly proper that the act should be prohibited when the very wish, the very desire and thought of possessing it is forbidden. Indeed, if there be in us any fear and love of God, let us rather do this: let us not only desire that each man's wife and possessions remain safe and entire, but also let us foster the love of husband and wife, exhort servants to do their duties, and finally, for all these reasons, we should defend, to the best of our ability, each man's property.[1]

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[1] The text reads "manu."

Another reason why we are forbidden to covet certainly ought to be referred to here, so that every man may occupy himself to the best of his ability with his own calling, and do for others what is required of him by his office (Ephesians 4:1, 7, 16,28). For one both covets and retains another man's property if he does not perform towards them what the duty of his own calling requires of him. For this reason the people should hold
(71) their king, princes, magistrates, and their other superiors, in honour. Let them bear with equanimity their dominion, obey their laws and orders, and not refuse to do anything which can be done under the will of God (Romans 13:1-5; 1 Peter 2:13-14; Titus 3:1). On the other hand, the rulers should maintain the care of their

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[1] Calvin here employs the classical formula, "Suum cuique."

people, administer justice, preserve public peace and tranquility, and protect the good and punish the bad. They should so administer all things as if they were about to render an account of their office to God, the supreme King and Judge (Deuteronomy 17:15-20; 2 Chronicles 19:6-7). The bishops and ministers of the churches should apply themselves to the ministry of the word. They should not adulterate the doctrine of salvation, but deliver it pure and undiluted to the people of God. They should teach the people, not by doctrine alone, but also by the example of their lives. In short, let them preside as good shepherds over their sheep (1 Timothy 3:1-5; 2 Timothy 2:15; 4:2,5; Titus 1:7f.; 1 Peter 5:2-3). The people, in turn, should recognize them as ambassadors and apostles of God. They should render them the honour which the Lord has bestowed upon them. They should supply them with those things which are necessary for life (Matthew 10:9-14; Romans 10:15, 15:27; 1 Corinthians 9:6-14; Galatians 6:6; 1 Thessalonians 5:12-13; 1 Timothy 5:17-18). Parents should receive their children as entrusted to them by God, that they may feed them teach them, and rule over them. They should not by their inhumanity or severity irritate them, or alienate their minds from them, but, with the gentleness and indulgence which becomes their character, they should embrace them with warm affection. It has been said above how children owe their parents respect. Younger men should reverence old age, for the Lord has willed that old age should be honourable. Also old men should control the weakness of the young men by their prudence and greater experience, (72) not assailing them with harsh and clamorous railings, but tempering severity with kindness and friendliness. Servants should show themselves diligent and obedient in the service of their master, not doing things for show, but from the heart, as if they were rendering their duties to God. Masters also should not behave morosely and roughly toward their servants. They should not afflict them with excessive severity or treat them contemptuously. But, rather, let them recognize them as their own brothers and fellowservants of the same Lord in heaven. They ought to mutually love and sustain them with all gentleness (Ephesians 6:5-7; Colossians 3:22-25; Titus 2:9; 1 Peter 2:18; Colossians 4:1; Philemon). In this manner, let each one consider what is in his own rank and station he owes to his neighbour, and what he owes let him pay.

We have all the law explained in the Ten Commandments, by means of which we are sufficiently admonished of all those things which God either requires of us or forbids us to do, both in relation to himself and to others. It is easy to see, therefore, the end to which all the commandments point: that is, the teaching of charity.[1]

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[1] Augustine, Enchiridion, 121. "Omnia igitur praecepta divina referuntur ad charitatem...Omnis itaque praecepti finis est charitas; id est, ad charitatem refertur omne praeceptum." (PL 40, 238).

And first, that we should fear, love, and serve God, trust in him, call upon him and seek him, expect all things from him, establish in him our defenses and rest in him. This is the sum of the first table, whereby we are especially established unto piety (Matthew 7:12). In the next place, for the love of God, let us practice love towards others, (73) thus doing to all men what we would desire to be done to us. This is the chief point of the second table. We should not, however, love ourselves; for there is not written one syllable which establishes a rule for man concerning those things which he should practice or omit for his own advantage. And surely, since men are born in such a way that they rush headlong into self-love, there is no need for any law which would further inflame that love which of itself is excessive. Wherefore, it is clearly evident that the observance of the commandments does not consist in our own self-love, but in the love of God and our neighbour. He loves best and most holy he who lives and strives as little as possible for himself; and no man lives a worse and more iniquitous life than he who lives and strives only for himself, and considers and seeks his own interests.

But we must not lightly pass over the fact that not only our outward acts but the very thoughts and the inmost desires of our heart are prescribed and forbidden by the law of God. No one should think that he has satisfied the law when he has merely kept his hand from doing things. For there are those who line up their eyes, feet, hands, and every part of the body in some kind of observance of the law; meanwhile, however, they keep their hearts entirely alienated from all obedience to it. They think that they have fulfilled their duty if they have effectively concealed from men what they do in their hearts before God. They hear: "Thou shalt not kill;" "Thou shalt not commit fornication;" "Thou shalt not steal."[1] (74) They do not draw the sword to kill; they do not sleep with prostitutes; they do not lay hands on another's property. So far, so good; but they breathe out murder with their whole being; they burn up with lust; they look at everyone's property with longing eyes and devour it rapaciously. These people, however, miss the whole point of the law. Paul loudly rebukes them (Romans 7:14), when he affirms that the law is spiritual, that is, it demands the obedience of the whole mind, soul and will. When we say that this is the meaning of the law, it is not that we force upon it a new and arbitrary interpretation, but we follow Christ who is the law's best interpreter. For, since the Pharisees had infected the people with the false opinion that he who has committed no external act against the law has fulfilled the law (Matthew 5:21-30), Christ exposed this most dangerous error and proclaims that a lewd look at a woman is adultery, and declares that whoever hates his brother is a murderer. For he makes them liable to judgment who have only conceived anger in their hearts; them liable to the council who, murmuring and complaining, have given any sign of a bitter spirit; them liable to the fire of Gehenna who have broken forth with insults and abusive language into open rage. Those who have not perceived these things have imagined that Christ was another Moses, the bearer of an evangelical law which supplied the deficiency of the law of Moses. This is most false, for Christ adds nothing to the old law, but only freed it from the lies of the Pharisees, (75) by which it had been obscured, and cleansed it again from the leaven with which it had been polluted. It is similar ignorance and malice which made counsels, which one is free to follow or not follow, out of the precepts of not seeking vengeance, and loving enemies, which were delivered of old to all the Jews and now to all Christians.[1] And they have relegated obligatory obedience of these precepts to the monks, in order that by this one thing they might be more righteous than ordinary Christians because they voluntarily bound themselves to these counsels.[1] And the reason why they do not receive them as laws is that they appear to them too burdensome and grievous, especially to Christians who are under grace.[2] Is it that they dare to reshape the eternal law of God concerning the love of our neighbour? And did not Christ in a parable which he told (Luke 10:29-37), declare our neighbour to be anyone, even a complete stranger, to whom our services may be of help? And do not the commandments appear here and there which require us to love our enemies (Proverbs 25:21; Romans 12:20)? For example, when we are commanded to feed the hungry, to guide the stray oxen and asses into the right way, and to help them when they are sinking under a burden (Exodus 23:4-5). Is not the word of the Lord eternal: "Vengeance is mine," and "I will repay" (Deuteronomy 32:35; Hebrews 10:30)? And what, I pray you, do these commandments means: (76) "Love your enemies:" "Do good to them that hate you:" "Pray for them who persecute you, so that you may be the children of your Father which is in heaven" (Matthew 5:44-45)? Who, then, will be the sons of the heavenly Father? The monks? We shall be in a fine situation if only monks may venture to call God their Father. And, truly, they show themselves to be the sons of satan who so licentiously shake off the common yoke of the sons of God. How absurd is their reasoning: the weight would be too heavy for Christians! As if, indeed, anything more difficult could be conceived that "to love God with all our heart, mind, and strength." Compared with this law, everything can be considered easy, whether the love of enemies, or banishing from our mind every desire of vengeance. Certainly everything is arduous and difficult to our weakness, even the tittle of the law. It is in the Lord that we do deeds of fortitude: Let him give what he **commands**, and command what he pleases.[1]

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[1] Exodus 20:13-15.

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[1] For a concise exposition of the view which Calvin is controverting, cf., "Dicendum quod haec est differentia inter consilium et praeceptum, quod praeceptum importat necessitatem, consilium autem in optione ponitur eius cui datur...Similiter etiam quando aliquis non sequitur voluntatem suam in aliquo facto quod licite posset facere, consilium sequitur in illo casu: puta si benefaciat inimicis quando non tenetur, vel si offensam remittat cuius iuste posset exigere vindictam." Aquinas, *Summa*, I-II, Q. 108, Art. 4.

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[1] For a statement of the view which Calvin rejects, see Aquinas, Summa, I-II, Qq. 184-186. Aquinas' argument may be summarized thus: (1) Perfection in this life is possible, since the divine law, Matthew V,48, does not prescribe the impossible. (2) This perfection consists essentially in the observance of the commandments, and secondarily and instrumentally in the observance of the counsels. (3) Religious bind themselves by vow to observe the counsels, but not all of them. "Ad ea quae sunt supererogationis non tenetur aliquis nisi ex propria obligatione. Sed non quilibet religiosus obligat se ad omnia, sed ad aliqua determinata, quidam ad haec, quidam ad illa. Non ergo omnes tenentur ad omnia." Q186, Art. 2. For the possible source of Calvin's teaching, see Melanchthon's Loci, 1521, "De Consiliis." "Hinc e praeceptis consilia facta sunt, et recepta est pestilentissima opinio, non posse res publica administrari iuxta Evangelium. Quasi tale aliquid tradiderit Christus, quod ad pauculos tantum monachos, et non potius ad universum genus humanum pertineat." (C.R. XXI, p. 124f).

[2] Cf. Determinatio Theologorum Parisiensium super doctrina Lutheriana, 1521. "De Consiliis Evangelicis.I. 'Illud verbum Christi Matthaei quinto: Qui te percusserit in maxillam dextram, etc. Et illud ad Romanos XII. Non vos defendentes charissime etc. non sunt consilia, sicut etiam multi Theologi errare videntur, sed praeceptum.' Luther. Haec prosositio est falsa..." (C.R. I, p. 366 ff., especially p.382).

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[1] Barth identifies this passage as Augustine, De dono perseverantiae, cp. XX (P.L. 45, 1026), and often in Confessions. Cf. Confessions, Bk. X, 31,37. The text from De dono perseverantiae reads: "Quid autem meorum opusculorum frequentius et delectabilius innotescere potuit, quam libri Confessionum mearum? Cum et ipsos ediderim antequam Palagiana haeresis exstitisset; in eis certe dixi Deo nostro, et saepe dixi: 'Da quod jubes, et jube quod vis' (Lib. 10, capp. 29, 31, 37)."

That Christians are under the law of grace does not mean that they roam unrestrainedly without law, but that they are ingrafted into Christ, by whose grace they are free from the curse of the law, and by whose spirit they may have the law inscribed in their hearts. Paul has improperly called this grace a law, alluding to the law of God to which he was contrasting it by way of comparison (Romans 8:2).[1] These men in the name of the law philosophize about nothing.

Then, you have already heard how the Lord pronounces a severe and horrible sentence upon all those who have (77) transgressed any part of his law, and have not fulfilled it through and through. Now to fulfill the law is not within our power.[2] Therefore, we are all considered transgressors of the law, and the curses which are decreed there upon sinners hang over our necks, and are merited, not only by some of our number, but by all of us. And so if we only look at the law we cannot but lose courage, be confused, and despair, since we are all damned and cursed by it (Galatians 3:10-14). This is what Paul says: "All who are under the law are under the curse."[1] For the law cannot do anything except accurse and convict all men, convince and, as it were, hold them captive and, finally, condemn them in God's judgment, that God alone may be justified and all flesh may be silent before him (Romans 3:19f). Neither, indeed, let us prate, as many are accustomed to boast in these days, who as soon as they have been forced to confess that since they can never fulfill the law it is impossible for them to attain perfect and complete righteousness by the merit of their works, that, indeed, they confess, but lest they should appear stripped of all their glory, that is, to have completely lagged behind in their duty to God, they allege that they observe the law in part, and in this measure they are righteous. And they claim that what is lacking can be made up by satisfactions and redeemed by works of supererogation.[2] This is for them the compensation of their deficiency before God. Their forgetfulness of (78) of themselves, their contempt of God's justice, and their ignorance of their sin has plunged them into this error. And they certainly do fall into ignorance of themselves, if they think that they are different from the description given in Scripture of all the sons of Adam, whose excellency Scripture commends is the following praises: "that they are of a perverse and hard heart; that the imagination of their heart is evil from their tender years; that all their thoughts are vain; that their light is darkness; that all like sheep have gone astray and turned everyone to his own way; that no one is found who does good; that there is no one of them who understands or seeks God; that they do not have the fear of God before their eyes;" in short, "they are flesh" (Jeremiah 17:2-9; Genesis 8:21; Psalm 94:11; Matthew 6:23; Isaiah 53:6; Psalm 14:1-31 Genesis 6:3). By this word, flesh, we understand all those works which are enumerated by Paul (Galatians 5:19-21, to wit, "fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, depravity, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, dissensions, sects, envyings, murder," and every horror and abomination that can be conceived. Certainly, it seems that our reliance on such a great dignity manifests a stupid pride toward God. For it is to be held as a universal principle that those who glory in themselves, glory against God.

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[1] The reference is dropped in C. R. and Barth.

[2] For a different view, cf. Aquinas, Summa, I-II, Q. 100, Art. 12. "Et ideo de huiusmodi praeceptis dicitur quod non justificabant nisi ex devotione et obedientia facientium."

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[1] The text reads, "sub maledicto esse," which translated literally is "under the cursed thing." In the 1539 edition he quotes the text thus: "Maledictioni subiectos," Barth, II, vii,5), and "esse execrationi obnoxios" (*Ibid*, 15). In the 1543 text, however, he reverts to "fuisse maledictos"(*Ibid*, xvi,2).

[2] Cf. Albertus Magnus, *Commentaria in IV Sententiarum*, Dist.,XX, Art. 16-22. See especially Art.16: "In hoc enim thesauro habet Ecclesia divitias meritorum et passionis Christi, et gloriosae Virginis Mariae, et omnium Apostolorum, et Martyrum, et sanctorum Dei vivorum et mortuorum. Et pro utilitate et necessitate Ecclesiae possunt impendi in suffragia eorum qui serviunt Ecclesiae in sua necessitate. *Opera Omnia*, Vol. 29. Paris edition. 1904. Aquinas, *Summa*, Suppl. Q.15, AA.1-2. In these articles Aquinas asks two questions: first, Utrum homo possit Deo satisfacere; second, Utrum poenum satisfactorium possit unus pro alio explere. In answer to the first question he states, "Deus est magis misericors quam aliquis homo. Sed homini est possibile satisfacere. Ergo et Deo." As regards the second question he says, "Caritas magis potest apud Deum quam apud homines. Sed unus potest apud homines pro alterius amore debitum eius solvere. Ergo multo fortius hoc in divino iudicio fieri potest."

Indeed, Paul affirms that this world "is subject to God" (Romans 3:19) when the occasion for glorying has been completely taken away from men. Dare a man of so much ignominy leave anything remaining to himself after he (79) has been condemned by God? Does he still think that he is something? Does he not yet learn to prostrate himself and humble himself, and to give all to God? Does he not yet in his humble condition learn to exalt God? For I do not call it humility if he thinks that there is anything left in himself. And, up until now, a pernicious hypocrisy has been taught by those who connect these two thing: we must think humbly of ourselves in the presence of God, and know that we have some merits. For if we confess to God something contrary to what we feel, we lie to him; but if, indeed, we recognize seriously that we are nothing of ourselves, then not only all our confidence but also all our opinion of merit vanishes. In man, therefore, if he be appraised according to his natural endowments, not a spark of goodness will be found from the crown of his head to the sole of his foot. Whatever in him deserves praise is by the grace of God. But our malignity is such that we always introduce some pretext for our foulness, and appropriate the gifts of God for our praise.

Even the righteousness of God is despised when it is not recognized as such and as so perfect that nothing is accepted by it, unless it is complete, perfect, and not defiled by any filth. If this is so, all our works, if judged according to their worth, are nothing else than defilement and filth. Thus our righteousness is iniquity; our integrity, pollution; our glory, ignominy. For the best that we can perform is always (80) sprinkled with, and corrupted by, some impurity of our flesh, and has, as it were, some admixture of scum. In the next place, even if it were possible, that we should do any completely pure and righteous works, nevertheless, one sin would be sufficient to destroy and obliterate all remembrance of former righteousness, as the prophet says (Ezekiel 18:24), and James agrees with him (James 2:10): "He who offends," he says, "in one thing is guilty of all." Now since this mortal life is never free from sin (Proverbs 24:16; 1 John 1:8), whatever righteousness may have been acquired by us has been corrupted, choked and destroyed by subsequent sins, it could never come into the presence of God, nor be imputed to us for righteousness. Finally, we must consider in the law of God, not the deed, but the commandment. Therefore, if righteousness is sought from the law, not one or two deeds will make us righteous, but only a perpetual observance of the law. Furthermore, sin is something so execrable in the sight of God, and of such grievous significance, that all the righteousness of mankind, gathered in one mass, would not be suitable to compensate for one sin. For we see that by one sin man was rejected and denied by God in such a manner (Genesis 3:17) that he at once lost all means of receiving and regaining salvation.

Therefore, the ability to give satisfaction, with which these flatter themselves, has been taken away. They will certainly never render satisfaction to God, to whom nothing is pleasing or acceptable which proceeds (81) from his enemies. Now his enemies are all those to whom he imputes sins. Therefore, it is necessary that our sins be covered[1] and forgiven before the Lord will consider any of our works. Whence it follows that the remission of sins is gratuitous, and those who press their own satisfactions upon God obscure and blaspheme it. We, therefore, after the example of the apostle (Philippians 3:13-14), "forgetting those things which are behind, and reaching forth toward those things which are ahead, should run our race, pressing toward the prize of the celestial calling." How does boasting of the works of supererogation agree with that which is enjoined, that when we have done everything which is commanded us, we should say that "we are useless

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[1] The notion that sins are covered is prominent in the Old Testament. Paul quotes Psalm 31:1, "Beati ...et quorum tecta sint peccata," in Romans 4:1. The idea, however, is not so conspicuous in the New Testament. Calvin employs the figure here and retains it in all the editions. The reformer did not introduce the concept into Christian theology. It was used by St. Augustine, Basil the Great, and in the prayer Anima Christi. For this evidence see G. Barrois, Presenting Aquinas to Reformed Theologians, Typescript, Princeton Seminary Library, 1945, pp. 173-174.

servants; we have not done more than we ought"(Luke 17:10)? To say something in the presence of God is not to simulate or to lie about it, but to hold what we say for certain and to feel truly that it is so. And so the Lord commands us to establish seriously and to consider with ourselves that we perform for him no gratuitous service, but render the obedience which is due to him. And that will be accomplished, when we shall have done all these things which are commanded us, that is, if all our thoughts and all our members were directed to the duties of the law, or if the righteousness of one were more than the righteousness of all. Those who are the furthest removed from doing what has been commanded, dare, nevertheless, to boast that they have added a great deal to the perfect
(82) standard. But, of course, it is simple and easy for anyone to discuss these things under the shadow of professor's stools and chairs. When, however, the Supreme Judge has seated himself in the tribunal every mouth will be closed and all boasting vanish away. And this was the question, to wit, what kind of trustful defense can we bring before his tribunal, and not what kind of commands we can fabricate in schools and corners. Besides, what kind of supererogations are they which these men wish to peddle to God? They are trifles which God never commanded, never approved, and which he will not accept when the

account shall be rendered before him. Finally, we concede that there are works of supererogation in the following sense, to wit, those which the prophet says (Isaiah 1:12): "Who has required this at your hand?"

And so this fact remains firm: the whole race of mankind is proved by the law subject to the curse and wrath of God, and, in order to be saved from it, they must be freed from the power of the law or, as it were, emancipated from its servitude. This is not that carnal liberty which would seduce us from the observance of the law, invite us to licentiousness of all sorts, and permit us to indulge in our concupiscence, as it were, with the bars down and the rei~~g~~ns slackened; but this is a spiritual liberty which soothes and arouses a stricken and frightened conscience, showing that it is free from the curse and condemnation under which the law was holding it bound and fettered. This (83) liberation from subjection to the law or (as I may put it)* this manumission, we attain when we apprehend through faith the mercy of God in Christ. By this we are granted a tranquil assurance of the pardon of our sins. The law was stinging and biting us on account of the consciousness of our sins (1 Corinthians 15:56)[1] But God does not, as many foolishly affirm, grant us this remission of sins once, in order that, having obtained pardon of our past life, we may afterwards seek righteousness in the law. If he did this, he would only sport with us and deceive us, and lead us into a false hope. For since we cannot attain any perfection so long as we are clothed in the flesh, and since the law pronounces death and judgment upon all who have not achieved perfect righteousness by their works, the law will always have grounds for accusing and condemning us, unless the mercy of the Lord counteracts it by continually absolving us with an unceasing remission of sins. Wherefore, what we were saying at the beginning always remains evident. If we are judged according to our dignity, whatever we may plan or undertake, we are still, with all our endeavours and striving, worthy of wrath and confusion. And for this reason the promises which were offered to us in the law are all ineffectual and vain. For this condition, that we should perform the law, on which the promises depend and by which ultimately they are to be fulfilled, will never be met.

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[1] The text is omitted in C.R. and Barth.

The apostle presses this argument further (Romans
(84) 4:14). "If," he says, "the promise of inheritance is from the law, faith is made void, and the promise is annulled." From this he infers two things. First, that faith is void and cancelled, if the promise considers the merits of our works, or depends upon the observance of the law; for no one could ever trust in the law with certainty, or securely rest in it, since no one could

ever determine to his own satisfaction that he had fulfilled the law; as assuredly, no one ever completely satisfies it by his works. We do not have to seek far away for testimonies to this fact. Each man can be his own witness, if he is willing to take an honest look at himself. First, therefore, doubt would creep into the minds of **all men**, then despair also when each one deduces for himself how great is the mass of debt by which he is overcome, and how far distant he is from the condition which was prescribed for him. Behold, a faith already choked and extinguished! For to have faith is not to fluctuate, to vary, to be carried up and down, to doubt, to be kept in suspense, and, finally, to despair; but it is to make the mind stedfast with a firm certainty and solid security, and to rest and have a place to plant our feet (1 Corinthians 2:5; 2 Corinthians 13:3-4). From this point the second fact follows: even the promise likewise has been abolished and has perished, having passed away, since it will only be fulfilled to those who have a sure and unhesitating persuasion that it must be fulfilled to them, or (in one word)* it will be fulfilled to those who have faith in the promise. Therefore, since faith has
(85) collapsed, no valid promise can remain. Hence, in order that any hope of salvation may be promised, new promises must be offered which can be fulfilled to us; and such are the evangelical promises which the merciful

Lord offers to us, not by any reason of our dignity or good works, but because of his own paternal goodness (Romans 10:20). And he imposes no other condition upon us than that we should embrace with our whole heart such grace of his own good pleasure. This is what Paul adds (Romans 4:16): therefore the inheritance of salvation comes to us by faith, that the promise might be firm. For the faith is sure which leans solely upon God's mercy, knowing that, because "mercy and truth met together," that, whatever God mercifully promises, he also faithfully performs. And a firm promise which cannot but be fulfilled to believers follows such sure faith (Psalm 85:10).

For these reasons it must now be recognized that our salvation depends solely upon the mercy of God, and not upon any dignity of ours, or upon anything which may proceed from us. And it is fitting, therefore, that we should put and, as it were, firmly fix all our hope in this mercy, not looking at our works, nor seeking any kind of help from them. For this is the nature of faith: to prick up our ears, and to close our eyes, that is, to attend to the promise, and to avert our thoughts from all human dignity and merit. For we (86) shall never have sufficient trust in God, unless we distrust ourselves through and through; we shall never raise our minds sufficiently toward him, unless we are first cast down within ourselves; we shall never have sufficient consolation in him, unless we are disconsolate in ourselves; we shall never glory sufficiently in him, unless we have renounced all glory in ourselves. We lay hold of and obtain, therefore, the grace of God, when we have rejected thoroughly all confidence in ourselves, and trusted certainly in his goodness, and (as Augustine says)* (*De verbis apostoli*, chapter 2),[1] forgetting our own merits, we embrace the gifts of Christ, which is identical with having, as we should, true faith. But no one can attain to this certitude, except through Christ, by whose benediction alone we are freed from the curse of the law, which has been decreed and pronounced upon us all. For since, by reason of the weakness which we have inherited from father Adam, we are unable to fulfill the law by our works, as was necessary for those who should hereafter wish to acquire righteousness for themselves from works: since this is the case, it is then by Christ's righteousness that we are made righteous and fulfillers of the law. For we have clothed ourselves with the righteousness of Christ, as if it were ours, and this righteousness being received from God is credited really as ours, in such a way that God holds us as holy, pure, and innocent. Thus what Paul says is fulfilled (1 Corinthians 1:30): "Christ is made for us righteousness, sanctification and redemption." For first, the merciful Lord, indeed, receives us mercifully into grace, by his own goodness and gracious will, remitting (87) and forgiving our sins which merited wrath and eternal death (Romans 5:11, 6:22). Then, he dwells and reigns in us, by the grace of his Holy Spirit, through whom the lusts of our flesh are daily more and more mortified; on the other hand, we are sanctified, that is, we are consecrated to the Lord into all purity of life, having our hearts fashioned to obey the law. The purpose of this is that our will does his will and promotes in every way only his glory, and that we hate what remains in us of our carnal filth. Then lastly, even while walking in the ways of the Lord under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, so that we may not forget ourselves and assume a proud demeanor, there remains in us a certain imperfection which affords us grounds for humility, that every mouth may be closed before God, and that we may learn to always transfer all confidence from ourselves to him (Romans 7:23). And so we are always in need of the remission of sins. For this reason, even the very works which we do while we run in the way of the Lord (although they are pleasing to God insofar as they are done in faith)* still cannot of themselves render us acceptable or pleasing to God. But the righteousness of Christ, which is alone perfect and alone able to maintain itself in the presence of God, must appear in court for us and represent us at the judgment as our security (Hebrew 11:6; Romans 8:34). Indeed, the righteousness of Christ, having been accepted by God, (88) is credited to us and imputed to us, just as if it were our own. Thus we obtain repeatedly and continually the remission of our sins by faith, and none of the filth and impurity of our imperfections is imputed to us, but they are covered by the purity and perfection of Christ and, as it were, buried, so that they may not appear at God's judgment, till the coming of the hour when, the old man being destroyed and completely annihilated in us, the divine goodness receives us into a blessed peace with the new Adam, (which is Christ)* (1 Corinthians 15:22,45), with whom we await the day of the Lord,[1] in which, having received incorruptible bodies, we shall be transported into the glory of the celestial kingdom.

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[1] Barth identifies the text as *Sermo CLVIII*, "De verbis apostoli~~s~~, Rom.: 30-31," or *Sermo CLX*, "De verbis apostolis, 1 Cor. 1:31" (P.L. 36, 862 & 872.) It should be added that Calvin's statement is a summary of the teaching of Augustine in these two sermons.

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[1] Calvin deals more fully with this subject in his Psychopannychia, written in 1534, but not published until 1542. Two quotations from this work will give the reformer's point of view. "...the soul itself still survives from the destruction of the body, endued with sense and intelligence. And he is mistaken who supposes that I affirm anything else here than the immortality of the soul." (C.R. 33, 184) Again, "Let us hold fast, supported by all the prophecies, evangelical truth, and by Christ himself, this truth; to wit, that our spirit is the image of God. Like the image of God it flourishes, understands and is eternal. As long as it is in the body, it exerts its own powers, but when it goes out from this prison house it migrates to God, whose presence it meanwhile enjoys, while it rests in the hope of the resurrection. This rest is its paradise." (C.R. 33,201).

From these considerations we can draw conclusions as to the purpose and function of the law. It is contained in these three parts. First, that while it manifests the righteousness of God, that is, the righteousness which God requires of us, it warns everyone of his own unrighteousness and convinces him of sin. Since all men together, unless the Lord exposes their vanity, are inflated with an insane confidence in their own strength, it is necessary, therefore, that they, omitting these stupid opinions of their virtue, should understand that they stand and consist only by the hand of the Lord. On the other hand, since by the righteousness of their own works they are surging against the grace of God, this arrogance must be destroyed and confounded, to the end that, being naked and destitute, they may flee to the mercy of God, rest completely in it, hide themselves (89) in it, appropriate it alone for their righteousness and merits, since it has been offered in Christ to all who with true faith long for it and expect it. In the second place, since the law declares that God will be an avenger, it fixes the punishment for transgressors, it threatens them with death and judgment. It is useful to this point: that those who do not pay any attention to that which is just and right, unless they are compelled, are restrained by the fear of penalties. They are restrained, however, not because they are moved or affected in the depth of their mind, but because they

hold in check their hands, as if they had been bridled, from external acts, and they repress their depravity within them, which otherwise they would have wantonly poured forth. They are, indeed, by reason of this, neither better nor more righteous in the presence of God. For although, impeded by fear or shame, they dare not to practice what they have conceived in their mind, nor to give vent to their lust, nevertheless, they have not disposed their heart to fear and obey God; rather, the more they restrain themselves, the more they are inflamed within, they burn and boil, ready to do anything, to burst forth in any act imaginable, were not the dread of the law standing in their way. And not only this, but they also detest the law itself, and they execrate God, the lawgiver, so that if they could they would desire exceedingly to destroy him whom they cannot tolerate either when he commands what is right or when he punishes those who despise his majesty. But still this forced and constrained righteousness is necessary
(90) for the common good of men, whose peace is well provided for, while it guards against the anarchy which would happen if everybody did what he wanted. And, finally, the law affords an important use to the faithful,[1] in

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[1] Calvin retains the notion that the law has three uses in the later editions of the *Institutes*. He also keeps the same order, to wit, (1) a paedagogus, it convicts of sin; (2) a policeman, it restrains the overt acts of evil men; (3) a professor, it teaches the faithful to understand the will of God. It is interesting to note that Melanchthon in the 1535 edition of his *Loci* has a section on "De usu legis divinae," in which he

whose heart the Spirit of God is already active and reigns, so that as it admonishes them more and more about what is right and pleasing in the sight of the Lord. For although they have the law written and engraven in their hearts by the finger of God (Jeremiah 31:33; Hebrews 10:16), that is, although they are so disposed and inclined that they desire to comply with the will of God, notwithstanding, in the law they get the advantages that from it they daily learn more surely and better what the will of the Lord may be. Just as any servant, although he may be disposed most sincerely to win his master's approval, nevertheless, must needs discover his master's customs, in order to conform and adapt himself to them. Besides, however quick and ready they may be to obey God in spirit, still they are slothful in the flesh, and serve sin rather than God. And the law is a whip to this flesh by means of which it is goaded, roused and urged to work, like a lazy and sluggish ass. In one word, the law is for the faithful an exhortation, not that it may bind their conscience with a curse, but that it may, by constantly exhorting, shake away their slothfulness and pluck out their imperfections. Many

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says: "What are, therefore, the functions of the law toward this corrupt nature? I have enumerated three above. The first function, of course, is the civil, so that all men may be coerced by the same discipline... The second and proper function of the divine law is to reveal sin, and to accuse, terrify and condemn consciences ...The third function of the law among those who have been justified by faith is to teach them..." (C.R. XXI, 405f). This arrangement became the traditional order in the Lutheran churches. Cf. Die Konkordienformel, "vom dritten Brauch des Gesetzes," in Concordia Triglotta, p. 805.

persons when they wish to explain this liberation from (91) the curse of the law, have said that the law was abrogated for the faithful, not that it no longer enjoins upon them that which is right, but only that it is not for them what it was before, that is, it does not trouble or terrify their conscience with a message of death, nor does it condemn and destroy them.[1] So, on the other hand, justification is disparaged by good works, not that we should not do good works, or that we should deny good works which are good, but that we should not trust in them, glory in them, or attribute our salvation to them. For this is our confidence: that Christ, the Son of God, is ours, given to us that in him we may also be sons of God and heirs of the heavenly kingdom (Isaiah 9:6; 1 Thessalonians 4:14-18), having been called to the hope of eternal salvation by the goodness of God and not by our skill. Moreover, we have been called, not to uncleanness and iniquity, but to be clean and immaculate in the sight of God, in love (Ephesians 1:4).

If in former ages these things had been treated and arranged in a proper order, there would never have arisen so many quarrels and dissensions. Paul says

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[1] Cf. in Melanchthon's Loci, 1521 edition, "Et cum legis tres partes sint, exequamur quatenus singulae sint abrogatae (C.R. XXI, 193); and "Habes quatenus a decalogo liberi simus." (*Ibid*, 196). See also in Zwingli's *De vera et falsa religione commentaria*, 1525, "Liberati ergo sumus a lege," (C.R. XC, 710).

(1 Corinthians 3:11) that in the formulation of Christian doctrine the foundation which he laid must be retained, and besides it "no other can be laid, which is Jesus Christ." But, what kind of foundation is that? Is it that Jesus Christ was the beginning of our salvation, and that he opened the way for us when he merited for us the opportunity of meriting?[1] Not at all. It is, (92) rather, that "from eternity we have been chosen in Christ before the formation of the world, not because

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[1] Cf. the following statement of pre-Reformation doctrine: Coelestinus I, (422-432), "Quod omnia studia et omnia opera ac merita Sanctorum ad Dei gloriam laudemque referenda sint, quia nemo aliunde ei placet, nisi ex eo, quod ipse donaverit." *De Gratia Dei* 'Indiculus' quoted in Denzinger, p. 32. The Council of Orange, A.D. 529, decreed "Nullis meritis gratiam praevenientibus, debetur merces bonis operibus si fiant: sed gratia quae non debetur praecedit ut fiant. Concilium Arausicanum II. Canon XVIII in Mansi, Vol. VIII, col. 715. Bonaventura, whose teaching is summed up thus: "Possibile est homini satisfacere Deo, and per satisfactionem se reconciliare Deo...and nostra satisfactio innititur satisfactioni Christi, a qua accipit virtutem." *Liber IV Sententiarum*, Dist., XV. Pars. 1, Art. 1., Quaest. 1, in *Opera Omnia*, Vol. IV, Venetiis: Ex Typographia Ioan. Baptistae Albritii Hier F., 1754, p. 359. Aquinas, *Summa*, I-II, Q. 114, A. 3 and Pars. Tertia, Q. 19, Aa. 3 & 4, especially I-II, Q. 114 Art. 1, Respondeo Et ideo meritum homonis apud Deum esse non potest nisi secundum praesuppositionem divinae ordinationis, ita scilicet ut id homo consequatur a Deo per suam operationem quasi mercedem, ad quod Deus ei virtutem operandi deputavit. The doctrine was defined *de fide* after Calvin had published this text, namely, at the Council of Trent, Session XIV, cap. 8, *Doctr. de sacramento poenitentiae*. The canon says: "Ita non habet homo, unde gloriatur; sed omnis gloriatio nostra in Christo est; in quo vivimus, *in quo meremur*, in quo satisfacimus, facientes frutos dignos poenitentiae, qui ex illo vim habent..." *Canones, et Decreta...Concilii Tridentini*, typographia Plantiniana), 1779, p. 143.

of any merits of ours, but according to God's good pleasure; that even by Christ's death we have been redeemed from the sentence of death, and freed from destruction; that in Christ we have been adopted by the Father as sons and heirs; that through his blood we have been reconciled to the Father; that we have been given into Christ's custody by the Father so that we may never perish or be lost; that being so engrafted into him we are already, in a measure, partakers of eternal life, having entered into the kingdom of God through hope (Ephesians 1:4-5; Romans 9:11; 2 Timothy 1:9; John 1:12-13; Ephesians 1:7, 3:6-11; Romans 5:1-2, 8:14-17; 2 Corinthians 5:18-19; John 10:14-18, 17:12). But this is too little. For when we receive such a participation in him, while still being foolish in ourselves, Christ, indeed, is wisdom for us before God; while we are sinners, he, indeed, is for us righteousness; while we are impure, he, indeed, is our sanctification; while we are weak, defenseless and exposed to satan, still power has been given to Christ in heaven and on earth to destroy satan for us and to break asunder the gates of hell; while we still carry about with us a body of death, he nevertheless, is our life (1 Corinthians 1:30; Matthew 28:18; Colossians 1:14, 3:4; Romans 8:34; Ephesians 2:1-5, 4:24). In short, everything that is his is ours, and we have in him all things, and in ourselves nothing. It behooves us to build upon this foundation, if we wish to grow into a holy temple unto the Lord.[1] Now, indeed, the foundation having been laid, wise architects build upon it. For it is (93) necessary, either by doctrine or by exhortation, that they remind us that for this reason "the Son of God appeared, that he might undo the works of the devil;" that those who are of God should not sin; that "the time past suffices to have done the will of the Gentiles;" "and that the elect of God are vessels of mercy, chosen unto honour, which ought to be cleansed from all impurity (1 John 3:2-9; 1 Peter 4:1-3; 2 Timothy 2:20).

But everything is said once and for all when it is shown that Christ wants disciples of the kind that will "deny themselves, and having taken up their cross will follow him" (Matthew 16:24). For he who has denied himself has cut out the root of all evils, that he may no longer seek his own. For he who has taken up his cross has prepared himself for all kinds of patience and gentleness. But the example of Christ embraces both this and also all the other duties of piety and holiness; he presented himself to his Father, "obedient even unto death;" he was entirely devoted to the task of accomplishing the works of God (Philippians 2:8; Luke 2:49; John 4:34, 7:16-18, 8:49-50, 10:15, 15:1-10, 17:4). He panted for the glory of the Father with all his heart; "he laid down his life for his brethren;" he both did good to, and prayed for, his enemies.

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[1] Ephesians 2:21.

Therefore, if there be need of consolation, these words will produce wonderful consolation: "We are troubled, but not made anxious; we are perplexed, but not forsaken; we are humiliated, but not confounded; we are cast down, but we do not perish, always carrying about in our body the dying of Jesus Christ, that the life of Jesus might be manifest in us" (Philippians 2:5-8; 2 Corinthians 4:8-10; 2 Timothy 2:11-12). "If we die with Christ, (94) then we shall also live with him; if we suffer with him, we shall also reign with him, because we are made conformable to ~~t~~his sufferings; since the Father has predestinated those whom he has chosen in Christ to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren" (Philippians 3:10; Romans 8:29). And so, "neither death nor life, nor things present nor things to come, shall separate us from the love of God which is in Christ." Behold! we do not justify man by his works before God, but we say that all who are of God are regenerated and made new creatures, so that they may pass from the kingdom of sin to the kingdom of righteousness, and by this testimony they make sure their calling, and, like trees, are judged by their fruits (2 Peter 1:10).

With this one word we are able to refute the impudence of certain impious persons who falsely accuse us.[1]

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[1] These are popular arguments against Protestant doctrine. They represent a gross misunderstanding of the reformer's teachings.

They say that we abolish good works when we condemn all the endeavours of man; that we preach an excessively easy remission of sins when we make remission free; also that by this allurement we entice men to sin, when they are by their own accord sufficiently inclined toward it; that we seduce men from the pursuit of good works when we teach them that by good works they cannot be justified nor merit salvation. All these calumnies, I say, are sufficiently refuted by that one word. Nevertheless, I shall briefly reply point by point. We do not deny that there are good works, but we maintain that those works which are good are from God and ought to be credited to him. Paul (Galatians 5:22-23) calls
(95) all works of this kind "fruits of the Spirit of God, so that whoever glories, let him glory in the Lord." Nor can we divide the praise of good works, as they do, between God and man, but we reserve it complete, entire, and undefiled for the Lord. We only ascribe this much to man as regards good works: by his impurity he pollutes and contaminates these works which were good in themselves. For nothing proceeds from man, however, perfect he may be, which is not spoiled by some stain.[1] Therefore, let the Lord call into judgment the best of

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[1] In 1520, Leo X, in his Bull "Exsurge Domine" condemned Luther for saying: "In omni opere bono justus peccat." Cf. Denzinger, *Enchiridion Symbolorum*, p. 277.

human works, and he will recognize in them his own righteousness and man's confusion. For this reason we condemn the strivings of man, that is, we declare accursed whatever a man has or does by himself, Moreover, the minds of the faithful are raised up to a unique consolation by our doctrine, by which they are taught that these good works are given to them by God and are theirs; that since they are given by God, they are at the same time accepted by God; and that they themselves please him in these good works, not because in this way they merit, but because the divine goodness has placed this value upon them. We, rather, require this: that no one begin or try any work without faith, that is, unless he determines with a sure confidence of mind in himself that it will be pleasing to God. But, what do they say? Indeed, they always have "good works" in their mouth; in the meanwhile they so instruct men's consciences that they never dare to believe that God will show himself propitious or favourable to their
(96) works. We do not invite men to sin when we affirm a free remission of sins, but we say that it is so precious that it could not be balanced by any virtue of ours, and so it would never be obtained, if it were not free. Furthermore, to us, indeed, it is free, but not so to Christ, whom it cost so much, even his most precious blood, besides which there was no price sufficiently worth which could be paid to God's justice.

When these things are taught, men are admonished that they shed that most holy blood as many times as they sin. Furthermore, we say that our filth is such that it can never be washed away except in the fountain of his very pure blood. Those who hear these things, if there is any godliness in them, how do they not shudder with fright to roll themselves over and over again in the mire, thereby befouling, as much as they can, the purity of this fountain? "I have washed my feet," says the faithful soul to Solomon (Song of Solomon 5:3), "how shall I defile them again?"

Now it is clear who they are who cheapen the remission of sins: they contend nonsensically that God is appeased with their frivilous satisfactions,[1] which are but dung; we maintain that the guilt of sin is too grievous to be expiated by such trifling jests, that the offense done to God is too great to be remedied by these worthless satisfactions. This is the prerogative of Christ's blood alone. We do not seduce men's minds from the desire to do good when we take away from them
(97) the vain opinion that they can merit. For when they say that there will not be any concern for the well-ordering of life unless the hope of reward has been offered, they are completely mistaken. Truly, if when men serve God

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[1] Cf. the Bull "Exultate Deo." ...Tertia est satisfactio pro peccatis secundum arbitrium sacerdotis; quae quidem praecipue fit per orationem, ieiunium et eleemosynam. Denzinger, p. 258.

they do it only as men who look for a reward, and hire and sell their services to him, little is gained. His will is that men should worship him without thought of a reward, and serve him in the same way. He approves, I say, that worshipper who, when he has been deprived of all hope of receiving a reward, still does not cease to worship him. Moreover, if men must be spurred on to good works, no one could apply sharper goads than Paul does when he says (Romans 6:4) that "we have risen with Christ, in order that we may live unto righteousness" (1 Peter 2:24);[1] when he commands that "we offer Romans 12:1) our bodies as a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable to God:" when he commands (Ephesians 4:15-16) that since we are one body with Christ, we should witness by kindness to one another that we are members of the same body; when he reminds us (2 Corinthians 6:14-16) that "our bodies are temples of the Holy Spirit, that there is no agreement between Christ and Belial, between light and darkness;" when he declares (1 Thessalonians 4:3) that "the will of God is our sanctification, so that we abstain" from all illicit desires; when he argues (Romans 6:18) that "we have been liberated from the bondage of sin," in order to obey righteousness. Can we be incited to love by any stronger argument than that of John (1 John 4:7-21):

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[1] This text is omitted in C.R. and Barth.

that we should love one another in the same way as God has loved us, that by this the sons of God differ from (106)[1] i.e. (98) the sons of the devil, and the sons of light, since they remain in love, from the sons of darkness? Or can we be more vigorously provoked to holiness than when we hear from the same writer (1 John 3:3) that "all men who have this hope sanctify themselves because their God is holy:" or than when they hear Christ proposing himself as our example, so that we should follow in his footsteps (John 15:20)[2]? And, indeed, I have offered these very few texts to whet your appetite; for if I were inclined to examine them one by one, I would have to write a large book. All the writings of the Apostles are filled with admonitions, exhortations, reproofs and consolations, by which they teach a man of God to do every good work,[3] without any mention of merit. And certainly this one reason ought to be sufficient for us: that God may be glorified in us. For if there are any who are not strongly disposed toward the glory of God, still the memory of God's benefits is sufficient to incite them to well-doing

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[1] In the *editio princeps* there is a mistake in the pagination. The mistake and the correct page number are given in our margin.

[2] It may be deduced from the text quoted by Calvin that Christ is our example. It is most probable, however, that the reformer had John 13:15 in mind.

[3] Cf. 2 Timothy 3:17.

(Matthew 5:16). But these, having introduced merits, extort, perhaps, some servile and forced obedience of the law, lie when they say that we have nothing with which to exhort to good works because we do not walk in the same way. As if, in truth, God could be delighted by such acts of obedience when he professes that he "loves a cheerful giver," and forbids that anything be given, as it were, with sadness or of necessity. (2 Corinthians 9:7).

Nevertheless, Scripture, that it may omit no kind (107) i.e. (99) of exhortation, even relates many times that God will give to each one a reward which accords with his works (Matthew 16:27).[1] But from this no one should argue that our works are the cause of this recompense. For the kingdom of heaven is not the salary of a servant, but the inheritance of sons; only those whom the Lord will adopt as sons shall obtain it (Ephesians 1:18). And so let us not think that the Holy Spirit willed by such a promise to commend the worthiness of our works, as though they deserved such a reward. For the Scripture leaves us nothing whereby we might exalt ourselves in the sight of God. Much more, it is entirely concerned with repressing our arrogance, humbling us, abasing us, and breaking us down completely. But, in this way, it is a help for our weakness which otherwise would sink down

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[1] The text is omitted by C. R. and Barth

and collapse, if it were not sustained and comforted by this expectation. First, let each one judge for himself how difficult it is to forsake and renounce not only all his possessions, but also himself; yet by this novitiate Christ initiates his disciples, that is, all the pious (Matthew 16:24-26). Then, throughout all their life, Christ teaches them under the discipline of the cross, lest they fasten their heart either on a desire for, or a trust in, the goods of this world. In short, he almost always treats them in such a way that
(100) withersoever they turn their eyes as far as the world
(101) extends they have nothing but despair appearing before them on every side. Hence Paul says that "we are of all men most miserable, if in this world alone we have hope" (1 Corinthians 15:19). Lest they should fail under such great afflictions, the Lord helps them; he advises them to raise their heads higher and to look further, so that they may discover in him a blessedness which they do not see in the world. This blessedness he calls a recompense, a reward, a remuneration, not appraising the merit of their works, but signifying that it is a compensation for their oppressions, sufferings, insults, etc. Wherefore, there is no objection to our calling eternal life a remuneration, after the example of Scripture, because in it the Lord transfers his people from their labours into rest, from their affliction into consolation, from their sorrow into joy, from their

ignominy into glory: in short, all the evils which they have suffered, he exchanges for greater blessings. And so it will not be inconvenient if we consider that holiness of life is the way, not, indeed, that it leads to the glory of the heavenly kingdom, but that along it the elect are led by their God to the same glory; since it is his good pleasure to glorify those whom he has sanctified.[1] For this reason the observance of the commandments is sometimes called the righteousness of the Lord; not that by them the Lord should justify us, that is, should hold or consider us who observe them (101) righteous, but that by them he might exercise his righteous ones, whom he has previously justified by his own grace. For if anyone should divert the least part of our salvation to works, this person perverts and corrupts all the Scripture which assigns the entire praise to God. Truly, anyone who makes use of the name "merit" raises blasphemy against the grace of God which cannot stand together with merit; for surely that name is full of arrogance and fierce vanity against God. God promises a reward and remuneration. I know that. But it does belong to us to give thanks for so great beneficence of God, acknowledging that by it we have been given what was by no means owed to us, that we should not be puffed up with pride and seize more than is given to us. If a person who was given the use of an estate claims for himself even the property of the estate, would he not because of such ingratitude deserve to lose even the use which he enjoyed? And, indeed, could the Lord tolerate with impunity such as are so ungrateful toward his abounding grace?

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[1] Calvin may have had in mind Romans 8:30.

CHAPTER TWO

CONCERNING FAITH, TOGETHER WITH AN EXPLANATION OF THE CREED, WHICH THEY CALL APOSTOLIC.

(102) It can be understood sufficiently well from the discussion in the previous chapter what the Lord, by means of the law, has commanded us to do. Furthermore, if we should have fallen in part from the observance of the law, he decrees wrath and the terrible judgment of eternal death. Again, to fulfill the law, as the law requires, is not only difficult, but absolutely above our strength and beyond all our capacities. Wherefore, if we look only at ourselves, and think about what things may be worthy of us, there is nothing left of genuine hope, but, having been rejected by God, death and most certain confusion remain. And it has been explained already that there is but one way of escaping such a calamity, and one way which may restore us to a better condition, namely, the mercy of God which we most certainly experience, if we accept it with firm faith and rest securely in it. It remains for us to state the nature of this faith. This we may easily learn from the creed (which they call (103) apostolic)* which consists in a brief digest, and so to speak, as a certain epitome of the faith in which the Catholic Church concurs.

But before we proceed further, we must remember that there are two kinds of faith.[1] The one kind is this: if anyone believes that God exists, or regards as true history that which he is told of Christ. This is as when we pronounce as true past events which are being reported, or present events which we witness. Now this kind of faith is of no importance, and as such is unworthy to be called faith. If any man should boast of such a faith, let him understand that he has it in common with the devils (James 2:19), its only outcome being that the devils are terrified, shaken, and confounded all the more.[1] The other kind of faith is when we believe, not only that God and Christ exist, but also believe in God and in Christ,[2] truly

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[1] 1. Cf. Melanchthon's *Loci*, the edition of 1521, where under the heading, "De justificatione et fide,"

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he writes: "Proinde illa Sophistica fides, quam vocant tum informen, tum acquisitam, qua sic adsentiuntur historiae Evangelicae impii, ut solemus vulgo Livianae, aut Salustinae, non fides, sed opinio est." (C.R. 21, 161); and "Est itaque fides, non aliud nisi fiducia misericordiae divinae promissae in Christo." (*Ibid*,163). For the "fides informis" and "acquisitam", see Duns Scotus: "Fides ergo, quam daemones & falsi Christiani habent, qualitas mentis est, sed informis: quia sine charitas est." (Ionannis Duns Scoti, *Quaestiones in Lib.*, *III Sententiarum*, Vol., VII.I of the *Opera*, Liddinus: Laurentii Durand, 1639, p. 456); and "De primo certo est, quod in nobis est fides revelatorum credibilium acquisita::: igitur fides illa praecedit charitatem, & per consequens est acquisita, quia infusa non infunditur, nisi cum charitate." (*Ibid*, *Dist*. *XXIII*. Q. unica. p. 460).

[1] Duns Scotus, *Ibid*. "...daemones credunt, & contremiscunt, & habent fidem informen, & tamen odiunt Deum." p.459. Aquinas, *Summa*, "The daemons are, in a way, compelled to believe, by the evidence of signs, and so their will deserves no praise for this belief." II-II, Q.5, Art. 2.

[2] For the difference between "credere Deum" and "credere in Deum," cf., Peter Lombard's *Sententiarum Libri Quatuor*, *Lib*. *III*, *Dist*. XXIII, 4. (P.L. 192, 805). See also Aquinas *Summa* II-II, Q.2. Art. 2. Aquinas gives Augustine as his authority, and had in mind the following texts: Augustine in commenting on John VI, 29 writes: "Ut credatis in eum; non, ut credatis ei, sed si creditis in eum, creditis ei: non autem continuo qui credit ei,

acknowledging God as our God and Christ as our Saviour. This, indeed, is not only to consider true all that which is written or said about God and Christ, but to put all our hope and trust in one God and Christ, and to be made stedfast by this knowledge that we do not doubt at all about the good pleasure of God toward us; that we may be firmly persuaded that whatever is necessary for us, not only in spirit, but also in body, will be given to us by him; that we may certainly expect that he will fulfill whatever the Scriptures (104) promise concerning him; that we should not doubt at all that Christ is for us Jesus, that is, Saviour; that as we obtain the remission of sins and sanctification through him, so also salvation is given to us; that at last we may be led into the kingdom of God which will be revealed at the last day. And so this, indeed, is the capital part and, so to speak, almost the sum of those things which the Lord promises and offers to us in his Holy Word. This is the goal which he sets up in Scripture. This is the target which he places before us.

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credit in eum. Nam et daemones credebant ei et non credebant in eum...Quid est ergo credere in eum? Credendo amare, credendo diligere, credendo in eum ire, et eius membris incorporari. Ipsa est ergo fides quam de nobis exigit Deus..." *In Ioannis Evangelium, S. Augustini Tractatus* XIX, 6(P.L. 35, 1631). "Sed multum interest, utrum quisque credat ipsum Christum, et utrum credat in Christum. Nam ipsum esse Christum et daemones crediderunt, nec tamen in Christum daemones crediderunt. Ille enim credit in Christum, que et sperat in Christum et diligit Christum. Nam si fidem habet sine spe & sine dilectione, Christum esse credit, non in Christum credit... Sermo CXLIV, 2 (P.L. 38, 788). This distinction is quite important for Calvin, especially when he deals with the Church. Vide infra. p. 187

The word of God, therefore, is the object and target of faith, at which faith ought to take aim. The word of God is the basis upon which faith ought to be supported and sustained, without which it certainly will not stand straight. And so this true faith, which indeed can be called Christian, is none other than a firm conviction of the mind, by means of which we assure ourselves that the truth of God is so certain that he cannot not perform that which he through his holy word has taken upon himself to do (Romans 10:9-11). This is also what Paul (Hebrews 11:1) teaches in his definition. He calls faith the substance of things hoped for, and the demonstration of things not seen. By substance or hypostatis (as the Greeks read) he understand, as it were, a support upon which we recline and rest; it is as if he had said that faith is a certain, sure and secure possession of those things which God has promised to us. Again, in order to signify that the last day in which the books will be opened will be more sublime than the things which can (105) be perceived by the senses, or seen by the eyes, or touched by the hands, and that in the meantime we cannot possess the promise in any other way, as if we could exceed all the power of our mind and direct our vision upon everything which is in the world we may finally surpass them, he adds that faith is the security of possessing the things which lie in hope and are therefore not seen. For (Paul himself writes in another place)* "hope which is seen is not hope, nor does anyone hope for the things which he sees" (Romans 8:24). For when he calls faith **a sign** or test (for in Greek it is elenchus)[1] "of the things which are not seen," as he says, it is exactly as if he had said: "the evidence of things which do not appear," the vision of things which are not seen, the clearness of things which are obscure, the presence of things which are absent, the demonstration of things which are hidden. For the mysteries of God, which are the kind that belong to salvation, cannot be discerned in themselves or in their own nature (as was said)* but we see them, in so far as we see them at all, in his word, whose truth ought to be for us so persuasive that whatever it says we consider as good as done and complete.

This kind of faith is very different from the first kind. Whoever has it cannot but be acceptable to God, as also, on the contrary, it is impossible that anyone should please him without it (Hebrews 11:6). By means of this faith we get whatever we desire and ask from
(106) God, as long as he foresees that it is **useful** to us. But this faith cannot either have its seat in a crooked, perverse or hypocritical heart, or be born or preserved without the grace of God. This is the very faith which God requires of us in the first commandment of

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[1] Compare the Greek text of Hebrews 13:1.

his law, where he, having mentioned beforehand that he alone is the Lord our God, subjoins that we should not have other gods before him. He wills, of course, that our hope and trust, which we owe to him, should not rest in any other than in him alone. At the same time he suggests that if our hope and trust belong to another, that other is our god. We have built the following discourse concerning this kind of faith, on account of which the creed was composed as a summary instruction, on the basis of a fourfold division.[1] The first three parts are devoted to the three persons of the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the One, Eternal and Almighty God in whom we believe. The fourth part deals with the benefits which we may derive from this faith in God, and which we ought to expect.

But when certain ungodly persons,[2] intent upon uprooting our faith, clamour against first principles and hold in derision our confession of one God in three persons, it is in order that their blasphemies should be silenced here. But since it is my purpose here to lead teachable persons by the hand, and not to come to grips with contentious rebels, I shall not engage them with a full (107) array of arguments. I shall only indicate in this part with a few words what should be followed and what should be avoided, so that they who give their ears easily and openly to the truth might consider where they may place with security their foot. The Scripture teaches us that there is one God, not many. "Israel," he says, "the Lord thy God is one God" (Deuteronomy 6:4). The Scripture asserts beyond all obscurity that the Father is God, the Son is God, and the Holy Spirit is God.

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[1] *Vide*, *supra*, p. 34f.

[2] Cf. the following summarization of pertinent passages from Servetus' *On the Errors of the Trinity Seven Books*, 1531; Jesus himself was the Son of God, and no hypostasis is implied. The nature of Christ's deity is seen from the Old Testament use of the word Elohim for beings less than the supreme God...Philosophers made the Holy Spirit to be a third being, and this leads to a plurality of Gods. The text Romans XI, 36 does not refer to three Persons. The threefoldness in God sometimes inferred from Exodus III,6 is to be explained...as a distribution of functions. What cannot be understood, cannot be received. The Sophists...use the term Persons in a wholly unscriptural sense. The Trinity excites the derision of Mohammedans and Jews; and "But, when about to create the world, he (God) created in himself a Substance in the likeness of the things of this world, and this was the Word, and the light, and the cause of all-nature." *Dialogues on the Trinity*, in *Harvard Theological Studies*, 16. Trans. by Earl Morse Wilbur, (Harvard: University Press), 1932.

We offer only one argument, but it is worth a thousand.[1] Paul so connects these three, God, faith

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[1] Calvin's argument here is essentially the same as Jerome's. Jerome in his commentary on Ephesians 4:5 controverts the views of Sabellius, Arius, Macedonius, Eunomius and Valentinius. The text, in part, reads thus: "Unus Dominus, una fides, unum baptisma, unus Deus et Pater omnium...Hoc autem dico propter Sabellium, qui eumdem Deum Patrem arbitratur et Filium, confunditque personas...Si enim, ut existimant Ariani, Deus Pater solus est Deus, eadem consequentia, solus erit Dominus Jesus Christus, et nec Pater erit Dominus, nec Filius Deus. Sed absit, ut non sit, vel in dominatione deitas, vel in deitate nominatio. Unus est Dominus, et unus est Deus, quia Patris et Filii dominatio, una divinitas est... Et miror qua consequentia in uno vocablo, eodem opere, et eodem sacramento, naturae diversitatem, Arius, Macedonius, et Eunomius suspicentur (concordante in impietate discordia), et creaturae in Filio, et Spiritu sancto coenosum fontem tenentes, diversos Haereseos rivulos duxerint..." *Vide*, his *Commentaria in Epistolam ad Epheseos*, (P.L. 26, 527-8). Cf. also Luculentius' *Lectio Epistolae beati Pauli apostoli ad Epheseos*, (P.L. 72, 832); Rabanus Maurus' *Expositio in Epistolam ad Epheseos*, (P.L. 112, p.427; and Peter Lombard's *Collectanea in Epistolam ad Epheseos*, (P.L. 192, 197-8).

and baptism, that he reasons from one to the other (Ephesians 4:4-5). That since there is only one faith, he demonstrates from this fact that there is only one God; since there is only one baptism, from this he shows that there is only one faith. For since faith ought not to look here and there, nor run about in various directions, but ought to look to God alone, unite with him, and cleave to him, it is easily established from this that if there are many faiths, there ought also to be many gods. Again, since baptism is the sacrament of faith, it confirms unto us the very unity of the faith, because baptism is one. And so no one can confess faith except in God. Therefore, as we are baptized into one faith, in the same manner our faith believes in one God. And so baptism is one and faith is one, because both are from the one God. Hence it also follows that it is not lawful to baptize except
(108) into one God, because we are baptized in the faith of him in whose name we are baptized. Furthermore, since the Scripture prescribes (Matthew 28:19)[1] that we should be baptized in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit, it also demands at the same time that everyone should believe with one faith in the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. But this, what else is it but to testify clearly that the Father, Son, and Holy

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[1] Calvin simply has "Matthew ult."

Spirit are one God. For if we are baptized in their name, we are baptized into their faith. Therefore, they are one God, if they are worshipped with one faith. Other excellent testimonies exist which assert in part the one divinity of the three and in part the personal distinctions. To the Son is attributed that name which the Jews called ineffable, according to Jeremiah 23:6, 33:16.

This eternal God must be one, who in another place refuses to give his glory to another (Isaiah 42:8).[1] And, nevertheless, when it is said that he was in the beginning with God, and that the Father made the universe through him; besides when he testifies that he had his own glory with the Father before the world was made, a distinction is shown between the two. The distinction is stated more plainly by the fact that the Father did not come and put on our flesh, but the Son came out from the Father in order to descend to us and to be made man (John 1:1-2; Hebrews 1:3; John 17:5; 15:3,5, 10,15,17,25-28, *et alibi*[2]). Both distinctions are expressed at the same time by another prophet, where the Father calls him an associate or a relative (Zechariah 13:7)[3] He cannot be, however, a relative or an associate to God, except in so far as he is God himself. Again, if he is an associate, he must be (109) distinct, since there is no society except between two persons. Peter states clearly in Acts (Acts 5:3-9) that the Holy Spirit is God. But that the Holy Spirit different from Christ is well known from more than ten places in John's Gospel (John 14:16,25; 15:26).[1] But

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[1] The text reads "Isaiah 43." This is the chapter in the Vulgate.

[2] C.R. and Barth have "Zechariah 7" after "et alibi." This is a mistake and tends to confusion, since the text has reference to the sentence which follows.

[3] The text reads, "Utrumque simil apud alterum prophetam expressum est, ubi pater socium vel cognatum

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ipsum appellat." The word cognatus is employed thirty four times in the Vulgate, but in no place does it have any messianic connotation. Socius is used fifty seven times in the Vulgate, but in no place does it have a messianic meaning. In Zechariah, the only text which could be interpreted messianically is verse seven which reads: "Framea suscitare super pastorem meum, et super virum cohaerentem mihi, dicit Dominus exercituum." The traditional interpretation of this text is illustrated by Haymo, who writes: "Imperat ergo Dominus framea, et suscitetur super pastorem, quem nullus dubitat esse Christum." (Haymoni Enarratio in Zachariam Prophetam. P. L. 117,268). Jerome also interpreted the text in this manner. (Hieronymi Commentaria in Zachariam Prophetam, Lib. III, cap. xiii. P.L. 25, 1594f). Jerome also affirms that Jesus, according to Matthew, referred to this passage. Cf. Matthew 26: 31 & 56. That this is the text which Calvin had in mind becomes clear when his Commentary on Zechariah is studied. He translates the text thus: "Gladie (vel framen) expergiscere super pastorem meum, et super virum socium meum, dicit Jehova exercitum." In this commentary, however, Calvin says: "The word עמית, omit, is rendered by some, kindred, (contribulus - one of the same tribe), by others, kinsman (consanguineus - one of the same blood), and by others, one connected (co-haerens), that is, with God; and they have considered that this passage cannot be understood of any but of Christ alone: but they have taken up as I have said a false principle...In short, the prophet calls pastors the associates of God." (Commentaries on the Twelve Minor Prophets. Trans. by John Owen. Vol.,5, p. 395f., Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society, 1849). Two points should be observed here. First, Calvin was fully aware that Zechariah 13:7 was interpreted messianically. Second, in 1557 he rejected this interpretation and understood the passage to teach that pastors were God's associates. In 1534/5, however, it is clear that Calvin followed the traditional exegesis of the text.

[1] In the texts quoted by Calvin there are three references which show that the Holy Spirit is different from Christ. In the remaining chapters of this Gospel

Paul explained clearest of all this mystery (Romans 8:11), when he referred to the Spirit as being "the Spirit of Christ" and of him who "raised Jesus from the dead." Now if the Spirit of the Father and of the Son is one, the Father and the Son must of necessity be one. Again, it is fitting that the same Spirit should be one with the Father and with the Son, since no one is separate from his own spirit. Certain people argue that they hear that God is a Spirit;[1] therefore, they do not understand any thing else by Spirit except God the Father. But just as they hear that God is a Spirit, in the same manner they also hear that the Holy Spirit is the Spirit of God. Therefore, there is nothing repugnant in believing that all the essence of God is spiritual, and that in that essence are Father, Son and Spirit. Neither are there lacking persons who say that God is called now Father, now Son, now Holy Spirit, in the same way that he is now called strong, now good, now glorious and now merciful.[2] But these people may easily be refuted

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there are another six statements to this effect; 1:32-33; 3:34; 4:23-24; 6:60-65; 16:13 and 20:19-23. Thus Calvin is mistaken in affirming that there are ten such references.

[1] Such people undoubtedly referred to John 4:24.

[2] Calvin undoubtedly had Servetus in mind. Cf. "Et Petrus in recognitionibus Clementis, non dicit tres aequales res, sed trina divini nominis invocatione, quia tres sunt admirandae Dei dispositiones, in quarum qualibet divinitas relucet...Et tres sunt, non aliqua rerum in Deo distinctione, sed per Dei οικονομιαν variis Deitatis formis." *De Trinitatis Erroribus Libri Septum*, 1531, leaf 28 verso 29. In this passage Servetus equates *dispositio* with οἰκονομια. Hence, the Trinity represents the three offices of God, Creator, Redeemer and Sanctifier.

since these words appear to be epithets which show God's manner of being, but those names declare who he really is.[1] If only people were not contentious or obstinate they will immediately perceive that the Father, Son and Holy Spirit are one God, because the Father is God, the
(110) Son is God and the Holy Spirit is God, and yet there cannot be but one God. Again, three are named, three are described and three are distinguished. And so the one and the three are one God, one essence. Who are these three? They are not three gods, not three essences. The orthodox doctors of old, in order to signify both the "unity and the trinity,"[2] said that there is one οὐσία and three ὑποστάσεις, that is, one substance and three subsistences in one substance. The Latin theologians, although they agreed completely with the Greeks, employed another name to express the same meaning in another way. For they said that there is one essence (which name corresponds to the Greek)* but there are three persons,[3] by which they wanted to show

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[1] The text reads: "quae ostendunt qualis sit Deus, illa nomina quae declarant, quis vere sit." The qualis deals with the question of how God is, namely, his attributes. The quis has to do with the quiddity of God, to wit, his nature. His nature is made known in the names Father, Son and Holy Spirit.

[2] The text is, "Utrumque ut significarent orthodoxi veteres, dixerunt..." Barth, I, p. 72. The words in the quotation marks are added by the translator for the sake of clarity.

[3] Cf., Augustine, "ita ut plerique nostri qui haec graeco tractant eloquio, dicere consueverint μίαν οὐσίαν τρεῖς ὑποστάσεις, quod est latine, unam essentiam, tres substantias. Sed quia nostra loquendi consuetudo iam obtinuit, ut hoc intelligitur cum dicimus substantiam: non audemus dicere unam essentiam tres substantias, tres

a certain relationship.[1]

Heretics rail at those who use these terms, saying that οὐσία, ὑποστάσεις, essence, persons, are names invented arbitrarily by men, and are never read or seen in Scripture.[2] But when they are not able to wrest from us the knowledge that three are called God, who are one God, what kind of pedantry is this to find fault with words which do not teach anything else than what is attested in, and authenticated by, the Scriptures? It would be better, they say, to confine not only our opinions but also our words within the limits of the Scripture, rather than to sow exotic words which will become seedbeds of dissensions and altercations. For thus one is sickened by verbal disputes, thus truth is lost in altercations, thus love (111) is dissolved. If they call a word which cannot be found syllable for syllable in Scripture "exotic" they, indeed, impose an iniquitous law upon us, a law which

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autem personas...Dictum est tamen. Tres personae, non ut illud diceretur, sed ne taceretur." *De Trinitate*, *Lib*. V, viii & ix. (P.L. 42:917f).

[1] At the Florentinum Concilium Generale, which met during A.D. 1438-39, John, one of the Latin theologians in speaking of the Trinity, affirmed: "Est vero secundum doctores tam Graecos, quam Latinos sola relatio, quae multiplicat personas in divinis productionibus, quae vocatur (relatio)originis: ad quam duo tantum spectant, a quo alius, & qui ab alio." Jean Hardouin, *Conciliorum Collectio*, *regia maxima*, IX, (Parisiis, Ex Typographia Ragia, (1714), line 339. At the same council, Bessarion, a Greek theologian, in his *Oratio Dogmatica*, stated: "Quod enim personalia nomina *Trinitatis* relativa sint, nullus ignorat..." Hardouin, *Ibid*. Line 339.

[2] Servetus, op.cit., "Item, eorum defensio sine scripturarum testimonio factitia videri potest." Leaf 25 verso.

condemns all preaching which is not stitched together by joining texts of Scripture. But if by exotic they mean that which, being curiously devised, is superstitiously defended, that which is worth more for contention than for edification, that which is either used out of season or fruitlessly, that which offends pious ears because of its harshness, that which takes away from the simplicity of the word of God, then I embrace them with all my heart. For I do not think that we ought to speak about God with less piety than we think about him, since whenever and whatever we think of him by ourselves is foolish, and whatever we say is absurd. For we must seek indeed out of Scripture a rule for thinking and speaking to which we are to refer exactly both the thoughts of our mind and the words of our mouth. But, what forbids that, at least, we should explain those things in the Scripture which are obscure and difficult to our understanding by more simple words. These words which yet reverently and faithfully serve the truth of Scripture itself should be used with caution and measure and not without occasion. Examples occur daily. There is often a dispute about the righteousness of faith. Few comprehend that we are justified by faith. We add (112) that the righteousness is not ours but Christ's, that it is in him, not in us, but that it becomes ours by imputation when it is accepted by us. So if we say that we are not actually righteous, but imputatively, or, not that we are righteous, but that by means of imputation we are considered as righteous in so far as we possess the righteousness of Christ through faith, the matter will be clear and simple.[1] It is said that God works in the reprobates whose works are condemned. The question is difficult and involved, namely, whether God is the author of evil? Whether evil may be imputed to God, whether injustice should be regarded as belonging to his work? May we suggest that in the same act one may see both the work of a perverse man and the work of a righteous God. Reprobate men have the root of evil fixed in themselves; by themselves they think evil, they will evil, they strive for evil and achieve evil. Therefore, whatever evil and guilt there is in the works of man must be imputed to man, because by means of his own counsel, his will and his action he strives against God. But God causes the evil will and evil act, by which he wills to move man, sometimes to punish him, sometimes to restrain him, sometimes to give his success and power. But all is done justly. Thus Pharaoh, Nebuchadnezar and Sennacherib fought against the living God, they laughed at his power, they persecuted as much as they could innocent people, they violently and unjustly seized the property of others. God, however, had raised them all(Exodus 9:16; Jeremiah (113) 5:15), so that they would commit such deeds. Yet these men, bent upon evil and meditating evil, or rather their ill will and criminal purpose against Israel, God turned into benefit, either through chastizing the impiety of his own people or delivering them more magnificently. In the same way, the affliction of Job was the work of God and the work of the devil, and therefore we have to distinguish the unrighteousness of the devil from the righteousness of God. The devil tried to destroy Job; God, however, was testing him (Job 1:12; 2:6). In like manner, Assyria was the rod of the Lord's anger, Sennacherib the axe of the Lord's hand (Isaiah 10:5). All of them were called, raised up, and driven on by him, in short, they were his servants. But why? While they gave themselves up to their wild wantonness they were unconsciously the servants of God's justice (Jeremiah 27:4-8). Behold! God and these men, authors of the same work, but in the same work the righteousness of God shines forth and the iniquity of men. This distinction looses the knot of this intricate problem. If anyone should interrupt and murmur that we have not proved the distinction to them, because the Sophists stuff their disputes full with minute distinctions, [1] who would not be displeased with such rudeness. If anyone[1] should find fault with the newness of our words does he not see that he is judged unworthy to bear the light of truth, as one who finds fault only with this, that the truth is made so plain and clear to discern? But such novelty of words (if it is to be so called) is most necessary, then, as long as the truth which they elude by tergiversation must be maintained against those who slander it. We experience this tergiversation (114) today only too much, so that most of our business consists in defending the truth against its enemies, who escape like slippery eels which twist sideways and turn around, if you do not grasp them and hold them tightly when they are caught. For this reason, the ancients, harassed by various contentions about false doctrine, were obliged to set forth with carefully sought perspicuity what they believed, lest they should leave the impious the twisted subterfuges in which they had hidden their errors under the concealment of words.[2]

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[1] Cf. "Illa autem remissio semper accipitur, fide. Item imputatio justitiae evangelii est ex promissione; igitur semper accipitur fide, semper statuendum est, quod fide propter Christum justi reputemur." Melanchthon's *Apologia Confessionis Augustanae*, 1531, Art. III, "De Dilectione et Impletione Legis." (C.R. 27, 454).

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[1] Calvin undoubtedly had in mind the great medieval scholastics. They divided their *Summae* into

Arius confessed that Christ was God and that he was

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parts or sentences, and subdivided these into questions or distinctions, which in turn were further subdivided into articles. Each article was then divided into arguments pro and con, together with a concise statement of the doctrine advocated by the author of the summa. Cf. Lombard's Sententiarum Libri Quatuor; Albertus Magnus' Commentarii in IV Sententiarum, Aquinas' Summa, and Duns Scotus' Questiones in Lib. IV Sententiarum.

[1] Supra, p. 153 note 2

[2] Cf. Athanasius' statement that the Nicene Creed was "a signpost against all heresy." Αὕτη γὰρ ἡ ἐν Νικαίᾳ σύνοδος, ἀληθῶς στηλογραφία κατὰ πάσης αἱρέσεώς ἐστιν. Athanasius, Epistola ad Afros Episcopos (P.G. 26, 1048).

the Son of God, since he could not strive against the clear teaching of Scripture or, as it were, rightly disregard it. Consequently, he feigned a certain agreement with it. But, at the same time, he did not desist from prating that Christ was created and had had a beginning just as the rest of creation. The ancients, so that they might bring out from their hidden places the subtle artfulness of Arius, took a further step and declared that Christ was the eternal Son of the Father, and that he was consubstantial with the Father. At this point the impiety of the Arians flared up, since they began to exceedingly hate and to execrate the term ὁμοούσιος. If from the beginning they had confessed sincerely and from the heart that Christ was God, they would not have denied that he was consubstantial with the Father. Who dare reproach those excellent men, as if they were brawlers and contentious because they got hot with passion in dispute over only one word, (129) i.e. (115) and disturbed the peace of the Church? But that small word distinguished the Christians of the true faith from the sacriligious Arians. Afterwards,[1] Sabellius rose up who affirmed that the names, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, were mere names, and that there was no reason for any such distinction, but that they referred to several attributes of God, of which he had many more.

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[1] This is a chronological mistake. Sabellius flourished in the third century. Arius died in 336.

If he got into a dispute, he confessed that he believed in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Spirit, but then he escaped affirming that he had said no other than if he had called God strong, just and wise. And so he echoed another old song, namely, that the Father was the Son and the Holy Spirit the Father, without distinction. Those who took piety to heart, to crush the depravity of the man, retorted that three properties had to be recognized in the one God. And to defend themselves against his intricate subleties, by the plain and simple truth, they affirmed that three persons truly subsisted in one God, or (what was the same) that in the unity of God subsisted a trinity of persons. If, therefore, there was no temerity in inventing these terms, there is temerity in rejecting them. Would that the names were buried, provided that this faith would remain among all Christians, namely, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit are one God, not, however, that the Son is the Father or the Holy Spirit is the Son, but that they are distinct by means of a certain property. As soon, however, as one is to cope, on the other hand with the Arians, on the other with the Sabellians, the very men who impatiently would break (116) off the opportunity for disputing[1] with either of these heretics, lay themselves open to the suspicion of being disciples either of Arius or of Sabellius. Arius says that Christ is God, but he whispers under his breath that he was made and had a beginning; he says that Christ is one with the Father, but he whispers secretly in the ears of his disciples, one like the rest of the faithful, although with unique prerogatives. Say, "consubstantial" and you will have removed the mask of the werewolf, and, moreover, you do not add anything to the Scriptures. Sabellius says that the names, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, do not signify any distinction in God. Say that there are three and he will vociferate that you speak about three gods; say that there is a trinity of persons in the essence of God and you will say with one word what the Scriptures say, and you will suppress meaningless loquacity. And if they will not tolerate these names, let them admit, at least to us, that they cannot be corrupted, even if they may be damaged, since when we hear, one, we must understand the unity of the substance, when we hear, three, three properties must be distinguished in this one essence. Indeed, the Scripture distinguishes them in such a way that it attributes to the Father the principle of action, and the source and origin of all things; to the Son it assigns wisdom and counsel in doing; and to the Spirit it refers power and the efficacy of action. Whence also the Son is called the Word of the Father, not of the kind that men speak or think but eternal and incommunicable, proceeding from the Father in an ineffable (117) manner, as the Holy Spirit is called power, finger and hand of God. Now let us hear the simple confession of truth.

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[1] Literally, "The handle of the controversy."

THE FIRST PART OF THE APOSTLES' CREED

I BELIEVE IN GOD THE FATHER ALMIGHTY, CREATOR OF HEAVEN AND EARTH.

In this first part we confess that we have fixed all our confidence in God the Father, whom we recognize both as the creator of ourselves and of the universality of things which were created. He established them with his Word and eternal Wisdom (this is the Son), and with his power (this is the Holy Spirit) (Psalm 33:6, 104:24; Acts 17:24; Hebrews 1:2-10). And so as he established them once and for all, so now he maintains, supports, leads, and preserves them by his goodness and power, without which all things would immediately collapse and vanish into nothing.[1] But when we call him omnipotent and creator of all things, we must think of his omnipotence as the kind by which he works all things in all creatures, and his providence as the kind by which he directs all things (1 Corinthians 12:6; Lamentations 3:37-38), not the kind of providence which those Sophists feigned, empty, inert, and inactive.[1] But, let us have the conviction by means of faith that whatever things happen to us, whether joyful or sad, prosperous or adverse, whether they pertain to the body or the soul, come to us from him (with the exception of (118) sin, however, which must be imputed to our wantoness). We are even securely protected, defended, and preserved by his help, so that no inimical power may harm us (Hosea 13:14), nothing, finally (since we receive all things from his hands) comes to us from him which does not lead to our well-being, however prosperous or adverse things may seem to the common people (Romans 8:28). And so, indeed, all things happen to us because of him, not because of any dignity of our own, not by any merit of ours to which this grace is indebted, not because we are able to repay his beneficence with its countervalue, but the sole cause of his goodness is his paternal benignity and clemency with which he does for us what he does (Romans 11:5-6). For this reason, we must see to it that we return an act of thanksgiving for so much goodness, that we consider it with all our hearts, that we proclaim it with our tongue, and that we exalt it with all possible praises. Let us so worship the Father with grateful piety and ardent love, so that we devote ourselves completely to his service, so that we honour him in all things. Let us receive with an equal affection and peace of mind all things, even adverse things, as from his hands, thinking that his providence thus exercises foresight for us and for our well-being, while he afflicts and troubles us.[1] And so, finally, whatever happens to us, we must never doubt or mistrust him, since he is propitious, and we must expect our (119) salvation from him. For it is most certain and true that this is the correct faith, and in order that everyone may have it, it is taught in this first part of the creed.

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[1] Cf. Augustine, "ita mundus vel ictu oculi stare poterit, si ei deus regimen sui subtraxerit." *De Genesi ad Litteram*, IV, 12, (P.L. 34, 304) Quoted, but incorrectly, in Brunner's *Christian Doctrine of Creation and Redemption*, Philadelphia: The Westminster Press), 1952, p. 153.

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[1] Calvin probably had in mind the Stoic notion of providence, namely, that there is a causal nexus running through the entire universe. This means that all events take place through determinism. Fate rules the universe. The Stoic God was truly *inanis*, *sopitus et otiosus*. He was not the personal, active, loving God of Paul, but the etherealized form of matter of Aurelius. Cf. Aurelius' *Meditations*, IX, 1, and Cicero's statement: "Nam si (Dii) curent, bene bonis sit, male malis; quod nunc abest," *De Natura Deorum*, III, xxxii.

THE SECOND PART

AND IN JESUS CHRIST, HIS ONLY SON, OUR LORD, WHO WAS CONCEIVED FROM THE HOLY SPIRIT,[2] BORN OF THE VIRGIN MARY SUFFERED UNDER PONTIUS PILATE, WAS CRUCIFIED, DEAD, AND

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[1] Calvin has in mind Job 2:10.

[2] It seems that Calvin is quoting the Creed from memory. The preposition "e" is not found in any text of this Symbol. Ambrose's version of the article is, "sed generatus Spiritu Sancto." (*Explanatio Symboli ad initiandos*, P. L. 17, 1156) Rufinus gives the Eastern text as "qui natus est de Spiritu Sancto..." (*Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolicorum*, P. L. 21, 348). The Western text reads, "qui conceptus est de Spiritu Sancto..."

BURIED: HE DESCENDED INTO HELL, THE THIRD DAY HE AROSE FROM THE DEAD, HE ASCENDED INTO HEAVEN, HE SITS ON THE RIGHT SIDE OF THE FATHER; FROM WHENCE HE SHALL COME TO JUDGE THE LIVING AND THE DEAD.

Here we confess that we believe in Jesus Christ, whom we hold for certain as the only Son of God the Father, not begotten as the faithful are by means of adoption only and by grace, but naturally and from all eternity from the Father. For when we call him unique, we distinguish him in every way from everyone else. So that, in so far as he is God, he is one God with the Father, of the same nature and substance or essence, not distinct in any way from the Father, except in person, which he possesses peculiar and distinct from the

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(Denzinger, *Enchiridion* p. 6). Calvin's article, "sedet ad dexteram Patris," is in perfect agreement with the Eastern version of the Creed. (Cf. Ambrose, *Ibid*, 1187, and Rufinus, *ibid*, 367), but differs from the Western reading which has "Sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis." (Denzinger, *ibid*). In the 1539 edition of the *Institutio* Calvin introduced the Western reading instead of "sedet ad dexteram Patris," (C.R. 29, 532), but retained his own text of "qui conceptus est e Spiritu Sancto," (C.R. 29, 517). In the 1536 edition he has "natus ex Maria Virgine," which agrees with the Eastern and Western versions of the Creed. In 1539, however, he changed this to "natus e Maria Virgine). These readings are retained until 1559. In the final edition of the *Institutio* there is no formal exposition of the Apostles' Creed, but he deals with the doctrines of the Symbol. In one place he has "genitus est ex Spiritu Sancto...qui ex Virgine natus est (Barth, II, xiv, 5), and in another "quod de Virgine natus est" (*Ibid*, xvi, 14). Then he has "consedisse ad Patris dexteram" (*Ibid*, 15). It is clear, then, that Calvin never employed the traditional formula, although he introduced the Western text of "sedet ad dexteram Dei Patris omnipotentis" in 1539, he drops it in the final Latin edition.

Father (Psalm 100:3a).[1] Therefore, whatever human wisdom possesses, here it must be subordinated and held, as it (120) were, captive, neither arguing at all from curiosity, nor doubting these mysteries which are to be adored, which surpass every capacity of human perception. And lest in this second part we should either conceive anything in the mind, or feel, or speak anything except what we are taught in the Scripture, may the example of the heretics, who have been cast headlong because they willed to trust too much in their own understanding, terrify us. When, therefore, we say that God the Son is one and the same God with the Father, we hold that he is true God the creator of heaven and earth (Hebrews 1:2,10). And so as we place all our trust in the Father, so also we must place it in his Son, since God is one. But here the Father is called in a special sense the creator of heaven and earth. We have already said that it is because of the distinction of the properties by means of which the beginning of activity is referred to the Father, so that, indeed, he said properly to act, still it is through his word and Wisdom, and of his own Power. Moreover, that in creating the world there was a common action of the three persons that saying of the Father makes plain (Genesis 1:26): "Let us make man in our own image and likeness." Now here he does not deliberate with angels, nor does he speak to himself, but he summons his Wisdom and Power.

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[1] The text is omitted in C.R. and Barth.

Furthermore, we confess that we believe that Jesus Christ for our sake, to save us from the tyranny of the devil, to whom we were subject; to release us from the chains of sin, by which we were held tight; to free us from the servitude of death, both of the body and of (121) the mind, into which we had been thrown; to release us from the eternal pains, to which we had been condemned (since we could not be freed or extricated from these things by our own power)* was sent from the Father by virtue of the divine goodness and mercy. He descended to us to take upon himself our flesh, which he joined to his divinity. Truly, in this manner, it was for our advantage that he is true God and true man, who would be our future mediator. For since all things had been destroyed when our sins put a cloud between us and our God, who could reach up to him (Isaiah 59:2)? Could it be man? But all men, with their father Adam, shivered with fright in the presence of the Lord (Genesis 3:10-12). Could it be angels? But even these had need of a head, through whom they might be closely connected with God (Ephesians 1:21-23; Colossians 1:16-20). What, then? Everything was lost unless the very majesty of God would descend to us, since it was impossible for us to ascend to him. This is why the Son of God was made for us Emmanuel, that is, God with us (Isaiah 7:14).

Again, since our abjectness is opposed in every way to the majesty of God, who would still be sufficiently confident to dare to draw near to God, to dwell with him, to be with him? Therefore, no nearness would be yet close enough, no relationship firm enough, if it did not join his divinity to us so that it might also unite our humanity to his divinity. Thus Paul (1 Timothy 2:5)[1] when he proposes him as a mediator for (122) us, expressly said, "man." He says, "The mediator of God and man, the man Jesus Christ." He could have said "God," at least he could as well have omitted this name as well as the name "God,"[2] but he knew our weakness. And so, lest any should torment themselves, asking where the mediator should be sought, how they could reach him, he adds immediately, he is man, as if to say, he is near you, yes, he touches you, he is your flesh. He wishes, of course, to point to that which he explained more clearly in another place[3] (Hebrews 4:15): "We have not a high priest who cannot have compassion on our infirmities, since he was tempted in all things after our manner, yet without sin." It was not an ordinary thing which had to be performed by the mediator, since he had to make sons of God out of sons of men, heirs of the heavenly kingdom out of heirs of hell. Who could have done this, if the Son of God had not been made the Son of Man, and thus taken what is ours in order to transfer to us that which is his; because what by nature was his, by grace he made ours.[1] This, therefore, is our hope, that we are sons of God because the Son of God by nature combined in himself body from our body, flesh from our flesh, bones from our bones, that he might be one and the same with us. That which was properly of us, he willed to belong to himself, so that that which was properly his might belong to us, that he might be in common with us both a Son of God and a Son of Man. (123) This is our hope, that the inheritance of the kingdom of heaven is ours because the unique Son of God whose inheritance was probated has adopted us as his brothers. Therefore, if we are brothers, we also partake of the inheritance. Furthermore, it was thus to our advantage that he who would be our redeemer should be true God and man. It was his task to swallow up death. Who could do this except life? It was his task to overcome sin. Who could do this except righteousness itself? But who is life or righteousness, if not God alone? Therefore, the Lord most merciful made himself our redeemer because he wills to have us redeemed. The second point of our redemption was this: that man who has lost himself by his disobedience, should by obedience get rid of his confusion, in order to satisfy the justice of God and to pay the penalties of sin (Romans 5:12-19), Therefore, the true man, our Lord, appeared. He played the part of Adam, took his name, so that by it he might manifest his obedience to the Father, so that he might offer our flesh in satisfaction to the justice of God, so that he might pay the punishment of sin in our flesh.[1] Those, therefore, who strip Christ of his divinity or of his humanity, surely, either blaspheme his majesty or obscure his goodness. And at the same time they destroy and overturn our faith which cannot stand except upon this foundation. And so the Word was made (124) flesh, and he who was God was made man at the same time, in order that man and God might be the same one, not by confusion of substance, but by unity of the person.

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[1] The _editio princeps_ has 1 Corinthians 2. C.R. has rectified the error, but without indicating that there was a mistake.

[2] The text is not clear. It reads: "Poterat Deum dicere, poterat saltem et hoc nomen ut Dei nomen omittere ..." (Barth, I, 78). In the 1559 edition, Calvin Clarified his meaning by adding the vocable "hominis." The final text reads: "Poterat Deum dicere: poterat saltem et nomen hominis sicut Dei omittere..." (Barth, III, p.438). What Calvin meant in 1536 was this: Paul could have written, "The mediator of God and man, the God Jesus Christ," or he might have omitted the words "God" and "man" and written, "The mediator of God and man, Jesus Christ."

[3] Calvin here affirms the Pauline authorship of Hebrews. In 1549, however, in his Latin commentary on Hebrews, after reciting the different persons to whom the Epistle had been attributed, says, "Ego ut Paulum agnoscam autorem, aducci nequeo." (C.R. 83, 5). The same statement is found in the French translation of the text.

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[1] Cf. Irenaeus' "et quomodo homo transiet in Deum si non Deus in hominem." Contra Haereses, Lib. IV, cap. xxxiii, 4. (P.G. 7, 1074).

This can be understood by the example of man whom we see composed of two parts. Nevertheless, neither of the two parts is mixed with the other in such a way that it does not retain the peculiarity of its nature. For neither the soul is body nor is the body soul. Wherefore, a particular thing is said about the soul which cannot happen at all to the body; and, again, a particular thing is said about the body which would not be fitting to say for any reason about the soul; a particular thing is said about the entire man which could not be accepted about the soul or the body without absurdity. Finally, the things proper to the soul are transferred to the body, and those proper to the body to the soul. He, therefore, who consists of body and soul is one man, not many. But these ways of speaking signify that the nature of man is one, composed of two things which have been united, and that two different natures[1] are behind the things which compose that one. In the same manner also the Scriptures speak of Christ.[2] They attribute to him, sometimes the things which must be particular concern to his humanity, sometimes the things which agree only with his divinity, sometimes they attribute to both natures the things which do not fit sufficiently well either of the two separately. Finally, by means of a communication of properties, they assign to his divinity what was peculiar to his humanity, and to his humanity (125) what they saw belonged to his divinity.[1] This doctrine is not my own invention, but clear examples of it appear in the Scriptures. When Christ said about himself (John 8:58), "Before Abraham was, I am," he was not speaking at all about his humanity. For he was not made man until many ages after Abraham. This saying, therefore, was proper as regards his divinity. When he was called a servant of the Father, when he grew in age and wisdom before God and man, when he did not seek his own glory; these sayings pertain to his humanity alone (Isaiah 42:1, 53:11; Luke 2:52; John 8:50). Since in so far as he is God, he is equal to the Father, he cannot be made greater by anything, and he works all things for his own self (Philippians 2:9-11). It was not peculiar to his divinity nor to his humanity, but at the same time it pertained to both that he received from the

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[1] Calvin uses the same categories which Anselm employed in his Cur Deus Homo, namely, inobedientia, obedientia, justitia Dei, satisfactio and persolvere. The reformer, however, emphasizes the penal sufferings of Christ.

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[1] Calvin's use of the term, *natura*, for two different ideas tends to confusion. He corrected this, however, in 1539, when he wrote: "et unam esse in homine *personam* ex duabus connexis compositam significant, et duas subesse diversas naturas, quae hanc constituant." (C.R. 29,520).

[2] Cf. Augustine, "ut quemadmodum est una persona quilibet homo, anima scilicet rationalis et caro, ita sit Christus una persona, Verbum et homo." *Enchiridion ad Laurentium*, I, xxxvi (P.L. 40, 250). Aquinas, *Summa*, III, Q. 2, Art. 1, especially the reference in Obj. 2 to the Quicunque. The text is, Athanasius dicit: "Sicut anima rationalis et caro unus est homo, ita Deus et homo unus est Christus."

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[1] Cf. Cyril of Alexandria, Καίτοι πῶς οὐκ ἀτρεκὲς εἰπεῖν, ὡς οὐ καταπεφοίτηκεν ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἡ σάρξ, ἀλλ' ἦν ἐκ Παρθένου, κατὰ τὰς Γραφάς; Ἔστι δὲ ὅτι οὐ διιστὰς ὁ Λόγος, ἀλλ' εἰς ἓν ἄμφω συλλέγων, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀλλήλοις ἀνακιρνὰς τὰ τῶν φύσεων ἰδιώματα, διὰ μυρίων ὅσων ἡμῖν ὁρᾶται λόγων *De Incarnatione unigeniti*, (P.G. 75, 1244). Leo I, "Propter hanc ergo unitatem personae in utraque natura intelligendam, et Filius hominis legitur descendisse de coelo, cum Filius Dei carnem de ea Virgine de qua est natus, assumpserit." *Epistola* 28, 5, (P.L. 54, 771/2). John of Damascus, Οἰκειοῦται δὲ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ὁ Λόγος· αὐτοῦ γάρ ἐστι τὰ τῆς ἁγίας αὐτοῦ σαρκὸς ὄντα· καὶ μεταδίδωσι τῇ σαρκὶ τῶν ἰδίων, κατὰ τὸν ἀντιδόσεως τρόπον, διὰ τὴν εἰς ἄλληλα τῶν μερῶν περιχώρησιν, καὶ τὴν

Father the power to remit sins, to raise the dead, that he was appointed judge of the living and the dead (Luke 5:20-24; John 5:21, 6:40-54; Acts 10:42). For the Son of God was endowed with such prerogatives when he was manifested in the flesh. He, together with the Father, possessed these prerogatives before the formation of the world.[1] They could not have been given to any man, if he were nothing more than a man. Expressions of this kind abound in the Gospel of John, which neither suit well his divinity nor his humanity, but which fit well the person of Christ, in which he was manifest, God and man. In this sense also we must accept what was written by Paul (1 Corinthians 15:24) that Christ (126) will give back the kingdom to God and to the Father. This certainly does not mean that the kingdom of the Son of God which had no beginning will have an end, but it means that even as he was crowned with glory and honour after his rejection and appointed above all things, even as, after he had emptied himself and showed himself obedient to the Father even unto death, he was exalted and received a name to which every knee

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καθ᾽ ὑπόστασιν ἕνωσιν, καὶ ὅτι εἷς τῇ καὶ ὁ αὐτός, ὁ καὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ τὰ ἀνθρώπινα ἐνεργῶν ἐν ἑκατέρᾳ μορφῇ μετὰ τῆς θατέρου κοινωνίας. *Expositio fidei orthodoxae*, III, 3ff (P.G. 94, 993).

[1] For "ante mundi constitutionem," see Ephesians 1:4; 1 Peter 1:20.

should be bent. Thus, this very name and what ever else he received from the Father, he will present to the Father, that God may be all in all (Philippians 2:8-10). But a *communicatio idiomatum*, or a communication of properties, is what Paul meant when he says that "God by his blood acquired for himself the Church," and when he says that "the Lord of glory was crucified (Acts 20:28; 1 Corinthians 2:8). For God, strictly speaking, does not have blood, nor does he suffer. But Christ, true God and true man, being crucified, poured out his blood for us. The things which were done in his humanity are transferred to his divinity. Again, when Christ said (John 3:13) that "no one had ascended into heaven, except the Son of man who was in heaven," it is clear that at that time he was not in heaven with the body which he took to himself, but because he was both God and man, on account of the unity of the natures, to the one was attributed what belonged to the other. To the above reason, I add some more, for the sake of those who can in no way be persuaded to recognize in the one person of Christ the properties of both natures. Indeed, they (127) confess that Christ is God and man, and the Son of God. If you press the point, you notice that they do not say God and the Son of God for any other reason than that he was conceived by the Holy Spirit in the womb of the Virgin.[1] This is like the Manichean babble of old;

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[1] Cf. Servetus, *De Trinitatis Erroribus*, "Istae illationes aperte etiam probant id quod secundo dixi,

they said that man has a soul by reason of a transfusion from God,[1] because they read that God breathed in man the breath of life. And so in defense of their errors they urge tumultuously that it is said that God "did not spare his own Son,"[2] and because the angel commanded that he, who would be born of the Virgin, should be called "the Son of the Most High."[3] And, indeed, we do not make two Christs,[4] but we simply confess that he who was the eternal Son of God, assumed our flesh in such a way that the one and same Christ was God and man, but with two natures united and not confused. But lest they should still pride themselves with the futile objections with which they contend, saying that Christ

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scilicet hunc quem Christum appello, esse Filius Dei... Sed potentissima Verbi Dei virtus vice seminis vici obumbravit Maria, agente in ea spiritu sancto Luc. 1. & sequitur, Quapropter & quod nascetur sanctum, vocabitur Filius Dei. Pondera verbum, quapropter, nota illationem, nota rationem, quare Filius Dei vocetur...Filius Dei ideo vocabitur, quia illa Dei virtus est vice seminis viri." Leaf 6 recto-verso.

[1] Augustine, "...impietatem, inquam, qua credis ita esse animarum traducem, in Tertulliani olim Manichaei profanitate damnatam..." *Operis Imperfecti Contra Julianum*, II, cap. 178 (P.L. 44, 1218); *De Genesi Contra Manicheos*, II, cap. 8 (P.L. 34, 202); and *De Genesi ad Litteram*, VII, cap. 2 (P.L. 34, 356f).

[2] Romans 8:32

[3] Luke 1:32

[4] Calvin is answering an objection of Servetus. Cf. Servetus, *op. cit.*, Leaf 7. verso "Dic si genitus est, a Joseph patre, an ab alio patre. Nec alium patrem reperies nisi deum. Aut dices esse phantasma, & non carnem, nam si caro est, ab aliquo patre nata est, ergo ipse alicuius Filius est, nec credo te hic evadere posse, nisi ex duobus Filiis unum Filium Facias..."

is the Son of God only according to his humanity, since that man was born of the Virgin and suffered, not another, was called the Son of God, let us learn the way in which the Scripture speaks, from one prophetic passage in which the Lord speaks thus (Micah 5:2): "But, thou, Bethlehem Ephrata, thou art small among the thousands of Judah, yet out of thee shall be born to me a leader, who shall govern my people Israel, whose going forth is from the beginning, from the days of eternity." Do they not understand this of Christ himself, who was born in Bethlehem, that he came out from the days of eternity?
(128) And if we look in that eternity of days, Christ was not yet.[1] This objection is indeed true, but the Son of God is he who was afterwards made Christ. Then, the author of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Hebrews 1:2) says: "In the last days God has spoken to us in his Son, whom he constituted heir of all things, by whom he also made the world." Certainly, it was necessary that he should be a Son before he was made man, if the world

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[1] Calvin undoubtedly had Servetus in mind. Cf. "Christus iam ab initio egreditur ex ere Dei, de quo acternitatis exitu Mich. 5. Ex te mihi egredietur dux, egressus eius ab initio a diebus acternitatis, ille, qui in principio genitus est, qui in principio genitus est, ante Abraham genitus dici potest...ego sum: quasi dicat, meum esse ante Abraham coepit esse, quia suum esse ex paterna prelatione in principio facta essentialitur dependet." Servetus, ib. Lib.III leaf 68 verso. He may also have reference to a pantheistic sect, The Brethren of the Free Spirit, the apostles of which were Coppin, Quintin, Hennegua and Bertrand, against whom he wrote his Contre le Secte Des Libertins, published in 154[illegible]. For their Christology, see chapter xvii of the aforementioned work especially, "...ilz forgent un Jesus Christ, au mesme moule, qui ne soit pas seulement comme un idole, faulsement eslevé contre le Filz de Dieu: mas un sac de

was made by him. Therefore, it may be concluded at this place, that the Word of God is the Son of God. For when John says (John 1:3) "All things were made by the Word," the Apostle[1] says, "By the Son." Paul also distinguishes more clearly both titles, the Son of God and the Son of man, so that to reject them would be not only a matter of blindness but of obstinacy. In the first place, as Paul says, "he was set apart for the Gospel of God (Romans 1:1-4) which God has promised before by the prophets, concerning his Son who was made of the seed of David according to the flesh, and declared Son of God in power." Why should the Apostle note distinctly that according to the flesh, he is the son of David, unless he wanted to indicate that he is the Son of God, yet not according to the flesh? In another place (Romans 9:5) he says, "of whom is Christ according to the flesh, who is God blessed for ever." Are there any who wish it stated more clearly than this: Christ is called the seed of Abraham according to the flesh, otherwise, beyond the flesh he is God blessed for ever? Furthermore, I wish to assert this: that we should not (129) deny that the unique Christ is true God and true man, and that by this his divinity is not torn asunder from

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toutes villanies, et un retraict pour recevoir toute puantise. Primierement ilz le composent de l'Esprit de Dieu qui est en nous tous..." (C.R. 35, 198f).

[1] Calvin means the apostle Paul.

his humanity, but that it is distinguished from it. These things come together beautifully, if they have a prudent interpreter who treats such mysteries as becomes piety.[1] However, there is nothing which furious and frantic spirit do not disturb. They seize upon the attributes of humanity in order to take away the divinity, and those of divinity to take away the humanity,[2] and as for the things which are jointly said of both natures because they do not belong to any one nature, they get hold of them to do away with both together. Now is that anything else but to contend that Christ is not a man because he is God, and that he is not God because he is man, and that he is neither man nor God because he is God and man at the same time? Christ, therefore, in addition to his being God, having taken real flesh, was made man.

Thus we believe that this one is truly Jesus, as he was called by the voice of the Father and the heavenly oracle (Luke 1:30-35). And "this name, and no other, has been given to men by means of which they may be saved"

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[1] For an example of such an interpretation, see Augustine's Enchiridion, cap. 36 "...ut quemadmodum est una persona quilibet homo, anima scilicet rationalis est caro, ita sit Christus una persona, Verbum et homo." (P.L. 40, 250).

[2] Calvin may have in mind the ancient Christological controversies. The Ebionites affirmed that Jesus, the Messiah, the Son of David, was a mere man. Likewise, the dynamic Monarchians for all practical purposes denied the deity of Christ since they affirmed that his divinity was a mere δύναμις. On the other hand, the Docetists affirmed the deity of Christ to the extent that they denied the reality of his humanity. Cf. Cyclopeadia of Biblical, Theological and Ecclesiastical Literature, vol. II, p.282f.

(Acts 4:12). We believe also that he is Christ, that is annointed with all the graces of the Holy Spirit, which graces are described as oil (Psalm 45:7, 89:20), because without them we, arid and sterile, waste away. And so as the Spirit rested upon him and was poured completely upon him, thus we all might receive from his fulness, all of us who through faith are his brethren and comrades (Isaiah 11:1-5, 6:1-3; John 1:16). Finally, by this
(130) unction he was appointed King by the Father, who put all power in heaven and in earth under him (Psalm 2:1-6), so that in him we might be kings, having dominion over the devil, sin, death and hell (1 Peter 2:9). Then, he is Priest. He, by means of his sacrifice, appeased the Father and reconciled him to us, so that we might be priests in him, offering by means of intercession and mediation praises to the Father, thanksgiving, ourselves, and all our possessions (Revelation 1:6; Psalm 110:1-4; Hebrews 5:1-10, 13:15-16). And so we acknowledge that he alone is Lord as he was appointed by the Father over us. We believe that he was conceived man for us by a wonderful and indescribable power of the Holy Spirit in the womb of the Holy Virgin (Luke 1:26-38; 2:17; Rom. 12)[1] of whom he was born as a mortal man in order to bring about our salvation. For this reason he had come. He gave over his body to a most cruel death, and

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[1] The text Romans 12 is omitted in C.R. and Barth. It is, however, a mistake. Calvin may have had in mind Acts 10:36.

shed his blood as the price of redemption. He suffered, therefore, under Pontius Pilate. He was condemned by the sentence of the judge as a guilty and wicked person, so that by means of his condemnation we might be absolved before the tribunal of the Supreme Judge. He was crucified, so that on the cross which was cursed by the law of God he might bear the curse which our sins merited (Deuteronomy 21:22-23; Galatians 3:10). He died, so that by his death he might overcome death which threatened us and might swallow up death which threatened to swallow us up (Hosea 13:14; 1 Corinthians 15:54). He was buried, so that by his grace we might be buried to sin and be liberated from the devil and the dominion of death (131) (Hebrews 2:14-15; Romans 6:4). He descended to hell. That signifies that he was afflicted by God, and felt the horror and severity of the divine judgment, so that he might stand between the wrath of God and satisfy his justice in our name (Psalm 21;[1] Isaiah 53:4-5). Thus, paying our debts and expiating our sins, not his own, (there never were any)* but our iniquity. We must not, however, understand at all that the Father was angry with him (Matthew 3:17). For, how could he be angry with "his beloved Son in whom he was well pleased," or how could he appease the Father with his intercessions, if he considered him to be full of hatred? But it is said that he bore the weight of the divine severity in this sense since, wounded and afflicted by the hand of God, he experienced all the manifestations of the wrath and vengeance of God, so that he was forced to cry out because of his pressing distress, "Father, Father, why hast thou forsaken me?" (Matthew 27:46). This is certainly meant by he descended into hell.[1] It does not mean that he passed to a certain definite place (for which the name "Limbo"[2] has been fabricated)* in which the fathers who lived under the old covenant were held, as it were, detained in prison, there awaiting in chains and captivity their liberation. It does not mean that he by violence broke the gates of this place in order to bring them out from there.[3] For this fable, although it has many authors,[4] and is also seriously defended as true by many persons today, is, nevertheless, nothing more than a fable. Neither ought the passage in Peter to be interpreted in that sense (1 Peter 3:19).[5] Those who want to defend this interpretation always force (132) upon us that "Christ, coming in the Spirit, preached to those spirits who were in prison." For by this Peter only wished to teach that the power of the redemption devised by Christ was exhibited and clearly manifested to the spirits of those who before that time had died. For the faithful who had always waited for their salvation from him then saw with a clear and present look his appearance. The reprobates, on the other hand, perceiving too late that he was the only means of salvation, from which they were excluded, then recognized more clearly that there was no hope left for them. But when Peter says, without any distinction, that the pious and impious were in prison, it must not be understood as if the pious were held bound in certain narrow rooms. It must be understood to mean that they saw Christ, not yet revealed, at a distance, obscurely, and, as it were, under the shadows of the clouds. He calls this anxious expectation of theirs, by means of a certain figure, a prison. But the Scripture bears witness that they were then in the bosom of Abraham as they also are now, that is, in rest and tranquility, which is for them the beginning of blessedness (Luke 16:22; Revelation 6:9-11). For they understand that they live in God and cleave inseparably to him. From this meaning the faithful receive an extraordinary consolation, waiting for the day of the blessed resurrection. But although this

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[1] The reference here is to the Vulgate. The Scripture to which Calvin refers is Psalm 22:1-2 in the Hebrew Bible.

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[1] This view of the "Descensus" is original with Calvin.

[2] For a technical discussion of the traditional view of the *Limbus Patrum*, see Aquinas, *Summa*, Suppl. Q. 69, Aa. 4-6.

[3] Cf. however, Augustine, "...portarum inferni vectes ferreos confregit..." *Sermo CLX*, "De Pascha" (P.L. 39,2060).

[4] Cf. Hilary, In Psalm, CXVIII, 82 (P.L. 9, 572f); Cyril of Alexandria, *Fragm.* in 1 Petr. III, 19)P.G. 74, 1013); Theophylactus, In I Petr. III, 18 (P.G. 125, 1232); Athanasius, Ep. ad Epictetum (P.G. 26, 1060); John of Damascus, *De Fide Orthodoxa* (P.G. 94, 1101); and Peter Chrysologus, *Sermo LXVI* (P.L. 52, 386f).

[5] As an illustration of the contrary view, cf. Athanasius: "Illud ipsum corpus in sepulcro positum erat, cum Verbum abiit...ut praedicaret his qui in carcere erant spiritibus, ut ait Petrus." *Epistola ad Epictetum* (P.G. 26, 1060). See also, Aquinas, *Summa*, III, Q. 52, Art. 2, obj. 3.

(133) article about the descent into hell has been omitted by some,[1] nevertheless it is not at all superfluous since it contains the most significant mysteries of most important things.

Furthermore, we believe that on the third day he arose from the dead, that is, from the same death which all men suffer according to the law of nature, and that he arose again to life a true man, no longer mortal, however, but incorruptible, glorified in the body and soul which he received. And this is the power of his resurrection, that being justified we might be raised from the death of sin to newness of life and righteousness (Romans 6:4); at the same time we may be sure that all men who of old suffered the same death must arise; since his resurrection is the most sure proof[2] and the foundation of the resurrection of men (1 Corinthians 15:13; Acts 1:22).

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[1] This article of the Creed was not dropped by any Roman Catholic theologian. It is also found in Luther's *Der Kleine Katechismus* and in his *Der Grosse Katechismus*. Zwingli retained the article in his *An Exposition of the Faith*, although he interpreted it to mean that Christ had truly died (Cf. *Library of Christian Classics*, Vol. XXIV, p. 252). Leo Juda in his *Der kurzere Katechismus* (1534) writes: "L. Warumb ist Christus gen hellen gefaren? K. Das ist ein zeyehen das er warlich gestroben ist." For the text, see *Quellenschriften zur Geschichte des Protestantismus*, III, p. 88. For the date of the Catechism, cf. Herzog, Realencyklopädia, X, 3rd edition, 1901, p. 140, line 40. Calvin may have had in mind the fact that the "Descensus" was sometimes omitted in catechism of the Greek Orthodox Church. Cf. Hastings, *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, 1912, p. 654.

[2] The text reads "fides."

We believe that he ascended into heaven. By this ascent he opened for us the way into the kingdom of heaven, which in Adam had been shut to all (John 14:1-3). We believe that since he entered heaven in our flesh, as if in our name, that already in him we possess heaven by hope and, what is more, that we in a certain sense, are seated among the celestial beings (Hebrews 2:10, 13;[1] Ephesians 2:6). We believe, likewise, that he is seated there at the right hand of the Father, in the same way that he was manifested in the flesh.[2] This means that he was appointed and declared King, Judge and Lord over all things, without exception of any creature which would not be subject to his dominion, so that he might enrich us with spiritual gifts by means of his power (134) (1 Corinthians 15:27; Hebrews 2:8; Ephesians 4:8). And so he sanctifies us and cleanses us from the defilement of our sin, he governs and leads us until passing through death we encounter him; for death brings us, indeed, to the end of our imperfections and to the beginning of our beatitude which we shall obtain in him, so that his kingdom and glory may be our strength, power and pride against hell. And that he is now with the Father is not without a great benefit to us, inasmuch, namely, as he makes access for us and paves the way to him, he offers us to him, asks grace for us from him, he addresses him continually for us as an advocate and mediator, he intercedes with him for our offenses, and he reconciles him to us constantly (Hebrews 7:25, 9:6-28; Romans 8: 26-27; 1 John 2:1). And so, although he was lifted up into heaven, and removed the presence of his body from our sight, nevertheless he does not cease to stand by his people with his help and power, and he does not cease to show the manifest power of his presence, which, indeed, he promised, saying: "Behold, I am with you even to the consummation of the world" (Matthew 28:20).

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[1] This text supports Calvin's contention. It may have been clearer, however, if he had quoted Hebrews 4:14, 9:24 and 12:2.

[2] For Calvin, contrary to Luther, the glorified body of Christ is a spacially limited body. This view is fundamental to Calvin's doctrine of the Real Presence. Cf. "Atqui haec est perpetua corporis veritas, ut loco contineatur, ut suis dimensionibus constet, ut suam faciem habeat." Barth, I, p. 140.

Finally, we believe that he will descend from there in a visible form, just as he was seen to ascend, namely, at the last day, in which he will appear simultaneously to all in the ineffable majesty of his kingdom to judge the living and the dead (Acts 1:11; Matthew 24:27,44), that is, both those whom that day will surprise alive, and those who have been taken away by death, and he will give to all a reward according to their works (1 Thessalonians 4:14-17; Matthew 16:27-28), so that everyone (135) might prove himself faithful or unfaithful by his works.

And so when we see the whole of our salvation and, indeed, every part of it is comprehended in Christ, we must beware lest we think that even the most insignificant part of our salvation is placed elsewhere. For in him alone are hidden all the heavenly treasures, from whence those, who with all their hope depend upon him alone, may draw whatever good that is necessary for their satiety. All these things, without any doubt, which are written above, if they are offered to us in him, whoever we are who expect them with stedfast faith because of his word, no particle at all of any good thing can ever be absent from us.

THIRD PART

I BELIEVE IN THE HOLY SPIRIT

Here we confess that we believe that the Holy Spirit is true God with the Father and the Son, the third Person of the most holy Trinity, consubstantial and coeternal with the Father and the Son, omnipotent and creator of all things. For there are three distinct Persons in one essence, as was said. These things, as they are high and hidden mysteries, ought to be adored rather than discussed, as they neither ought to be reckoned, nor can be, according to our genius or according to the standards and nature of our language. Wherefore, as we have placed all our confidence in God the Father and in his only Son, (136) so also we should have it in the Holy Spirit, since he is our God, one with the Father and with the Son. Persuaded that we have no other Leader or Guide to the Father than the Holy Spirit, in the same manner as there is no other way than Christ, no particle of grace from God may come to us except through the Holy Spirit. This very grace is the power and action of the Spirit[1] by means of which the Father works in the Son whatever is in any way good; by means of which God works, sustains, animates and vivifies all things; by which he justifies us, cleanses us, calls us and draws us to himself that we might attain to salvation (Romans 8:11-17; Ephesians 2:18; 1 Corinthians 12:1-13). And so the Holy Spirit, provided that he dwells in us in this way, enlightens us with his light by which we may learn and plainly recognize that we may possess in Christ the immense riches of the divine goodness (1 Corinthians 2:10-16; 2 Corinthians 13:4). He inflames our hearts with the fire of love to God and our neighbour, and daily he more and more burns and refines the imperfections of our concupiscence (Romans 8:13); so that if there are any good works in us they are the fruits and virtues of his grace. But, indeed, without him our endowments are darkness of mind and perversity of heart (Galatians 5:19-21). And so, indeed, all these gifts are not paid for by any of our efforts or merits, but they are given to us freely and liberally from the divine abundance. And so we believe in the Holy Spirit, recognizing him with the Father (137) and with the Son as our one God, and holding as certain and firm that it is his work and power that we have heard the holy word of the Gospel, that we have received it by faith, that we now stand in that faith. A free work, I say, lest anything should be assigned to our merits. Since these things happen alike to all the faithful, this ought to be the faith of all.

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[1] The texts reads "cum gratia ipsa sit spiritus virtus atque actio." The notion that grace is power indicates a Catholic orientation. For a more Protestant conception, see Melanchthon's Apologia: "Cur non exponunt hic gratiam misericordiam Dei erga nos?" (C.R. XXVIII, p. 513).

FOURTH PART

I BELIEVE IN[1] THE HOLY CATHOLIC CHURCH, THE COMMUNION OF SAINTS, THE REMISSION OF SINS, THE RESURRECTION OF THE FLESH, ETERNAL LIFE.

First, we believe in the Holy Catholic Church, that is, the number of the elect, whether they be angels or men (Ephesians 1:9-10; Colossians 1:16); of men, whether dead or now living; of the living, in whichever lands they dwell or wherever they are scattered throughout the world. There is one Church and society and one people of God, of which Christ our Lord is leader and prince and, as it were, the head of one body; according as they have been chosen in him by virtue of the divine goodness before the foundation of the world, they are all gathered together into the kingdom of God. Now this society is catholic, that is, universal, because one may not find two or three such societies. But all the elect (138) of God are thus united and joined together in Christ, so that just as they depend upon one head, so they may grow together as in one body. By means of this arrangement they band together among themselves as members of the same body. Truly, they are made one, who live at the same time in one faith, hope, love, in the same Spirit of God, having been called to the same inheritance of eternal life (Romans 12:4-5; 1 Corinthians 10:16-17, 12:12-27; Ephesians 4:4-6). The Church is also holy because as many soever as have been chosen by the eternal providence to be members of the Church, are sanctified by the Lord (John 17:17-19; Ephesians 5:25-32). And so, indeed, this order of the mercy of God is described to us by Paul (Romans 8:30), that those whom he elected from among men, he might call, that those whom he called, he might justify; that those whom he justified, he might glorify. He calls when he draws to himself his own, manifesting himself to them to be known as their God and Father. He justifies, when he clothes them with the righteousness of Christ,[1] by which also they are adorned for their perfection and they cover[2] their imperfection. And he refreshes them with the blessings of his Holy Spirit by means of which day after day they are cleansed from the corruption of the flesh and regenerated to newness of life,[1] until they appear in his presence entirely holy and immaculate. He will glorify, when the majesty of his kingdom shall be manifested in all and by all. And so when the Lord calls, justifies, glorifies them, he declares nothing else than their eternal election to which he had determined them to be born. Wherefore, no one will ever enter into (139) the glory of the celestial kingdom who has not been called and justified in this way, since, without any exception he has chosen them out of all men, the Lord shows forth and manifests in this way their election. The Scripture quite often comes close to our interpretation when it designates as the election of God that which has been manifested already by this calling and justification. And the reason is this: that he might often number among the people of God those in whom God had operated his powers, although they were not chosen; on the other hand, those who are truly chosen he does not enumerate among the people of God because they have not been declared so yet (Hosea 2:23; Romans 9:25-26, 10:20, 11:7,24,28). For here he does not reflect upon that one and unchangeable providence of God, but he describes to us the kind of sons of God that can be known by us, namely, those who are moved by the Spirit of God (Romans 8:14)[1]

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[1] The text reads "Credo sanctam ecclesiam." Calvin would not confess "Credo in sanctam ecclesiam," for to him this meant, "I trust or place my confidence in the Church;" and he reserved this trust or confidence for God alone. The preposition is used in the translation, since it has no theological significance in the English language. Vide supra p. 142, f. n. 2.

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[1] For the same view, see Luther's Rationis Latomianae Confutio in Werke, Vol. 8, p.111.

[2] Vide, supra, p. 115, f.n. 1.

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[1] It is clear that Calvin does not separate regeneration from sanctification. He says that we are daily regenerated to newness of life. Regeneration is, then, a process. He retains this notion in the 1559 edition of the Institutes. Proinde ista regeneratione in Dei iustitiam, Christi beneficio instauramur,...Atque haec quidem instuaratio non uno momento, vel dic, vel anno impletur, sed per continuos, imo etiam lentos interdum profectus abolet Deus in electis suis carnis corruptelas..." Barth IV, p. 61f. Turrettin, a disciple of Calvin, writing in 1682, formulates the "Protestant" view of the ordo salutis. He writes: "Habitual or passive conversion takes place by the infusion of supernatural habits by the Holy Spirit. Actual or active conversion, on the other hand, by the exercise of these good habits, by which the acts of faith and repentance are both given by God and elicited from man. Through the former man renovated and converted by God. Through the latter, man, renovated and converted by God, performs acts. The former is more properly called regeneration...The latter, however, conversion." (Francisco Turrettin, Institutio Theologiae Elencticae, Locus XV, Quest. IV, 13. Trajecti ad Rhenum Apud Jacobum a Poolsum, 1734) Thus Turrettin limits regeneration to the initial saving work of God in man's life. In Locus XVI he writes: "Ut in catena salutis Justificatio sequitur Vocationem." (Quest. I, 1). In the following Locus, "De Sanctificatione," he clearly distinguishes between justification and sanctification (Locus XVIII, Quest. I, 9). Thus, in Turrettin there is a clear cut distinction between regeneration, justification, and sanctification.

But since the Church is the people of God's chosen ones, it is not possible that those who truly are members of it should perish in the end, or should be lost by evil destruction (John 10:28).[2] For their salvation rests upon a support so certain and solid that even though all the machinery of the universe should be violently shaken, it could not destroy it or overthrow it. In the first place, it stands with the election of God, and it can neither fail nor change except with that eternal wisdom. Therefore, they can stagger and vacillate, they can even fall, but they cannot be broken, because (140) the Lord interposes his hand: that is what Paul says (Romans 11:29) "The gifts and calling of God are without repentance." Then, those whom the Lord elected he handed over to the faithful protection and care of Christ his Son, so that "he should not lose one of them but raise them all at the last day" (John 6:39-40). Under such good care the elect can both err and fall, but they certainly cannot be lost. Besides, this must be established: there was no period from the foundation of the world in which the Lord did not have his Church upon the earth, and there certainly will be no time, even to the consummation of the world, in which he is not going to have it, just as he himself promised (Joel 3:20; Psalm 89:29, 35-37, 132: 12-18). For although immediately from the beginning of the human race, on account of Adam's sin it was corrupted and marred, from it, however, like as from a polluted mass, God always sanctifies certain vessels to honour so that there would not be any generation which would not experience his mercy. Finally, we must believe in the Church in such a way that resting our trust on the divine goodness, we may be certain that we belong to it. We trust that we shall be perfectly justified and glorified with the rest of the elect of God, with whom we have been called and have already been justified in part.[1] We cannot, of course, comprehend the incomprehensible wisdom of God, nor does it belong to us to discuss it that we may ascertain who by his eternal counsel may have been chosen and who may have been rejected (Romans 11:1-36). But this is not the task of our faith which is repaid abundantly with this (141) secure promise, to wit, that God acknowledges as sons those who will receive his only begotten Son (John 1:12). Who could be so depraved by cupidity that he is not content to be a son of God and should desire something else?

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[1] This text was added by C.R., without any explanation of the fact.

[2] This text is not in C.R. or Barth.

And so, when we find in Christ alone the good will of God the Father toward us, life, salvation and, finally, the kingdom of heaven itself, Christ alone for us ought to be enough and more than enough. For this point must be considered: we shall not lack anything at all which may lead to salvation and to our good, if Christ is ours; truly he and everything which belongs to him will be ours, if we recline on him with sure faith, if we rest in him, if we place in him our salvation, life and, ultimately, our all, if we accept with certainty that it will never come to pass that he will abandon us. For he offers himself to us with open hands; only let us receive him by faith. Indeed, those who, not content with Christ, strive to penetrate higher, provoke against themselves the wrath of God, and because they wish to enter into the abyss of his majesty, they cannot but be overcome with his glory (Proverbs 25:2-6). For since Christ our Lord is the one in whom the Father from eternity chose those whom he willed to be his and to be counted among the flock in his Church, we have a sufficiently clear testimony that we are both among the elect of God and of his Church, if we have fellowship (142) with Christ. Furthermore, since this is the same Christ, the constant and immutable truth of the Father, it must not be doubted at all that his word truly tells us the will of the Father as it was from the beginning and always will be (John 1:1, 14:7-11). And so when we possess Christ by faith and whatever is his, one must state with certainty that as he is the beloved Son of the Father, the heir of the kingdom of heaven, so also we have been adopted through him as sons of God, and so we are his brothers and companions that we may be partakers of the same inheritance. For this reason we also may be certain that we are among those whom the Lord has chosen from eternity, those whom he will always protect, those whom he will never allow to perish (Romans 8:31-39).

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[1] For Calvin, justification is not only an event, but also a process. Melanchthon, on the other hand, wrote: "Justificatio significat remissionem peccatorum et reconciliationem seu acceptationem personae ad vitam arternam. Nam Hebraeis iustificare est forense verbum; ut si dicam, populus Romanus iustificavit Scipionem accusatum a tribunis, id est, absolvit seu iustum pronuntiavit." (C.R. XXI, 421). Turrettin wrote along the same lines. "*Proprie* verbum (iustificare) est forense, quod ponitur pro *absolvere* aliquem in iudicio, vel *iustum habere* et declarare, oppositum verbo condemnare et accusare..." *Op. cit.*, Locus XVI, iv.

Otherwise, it would be a mistake and in vain that we

should believe that there is a Catholic Church, unless each one should believe that he is a member of it. Moreover, about the others, it does not belong to us to judge with certainty whether they are of the Church or not, or to distinguish the elect from the reprobates. For this is the unique prerogative of the Lord "to know those who are his," as Paul testifies (2 Timothy 2:19). And lest the temerity of men should rush forward to such judgments, we are admonished by daily occurrences how far the judgments of God supercedes our knowledge. For those who seemed completely lost and were completely given up, were called back again by his grace to the way, and those who seemed to stand before the others fall frequently. The eyes of the Lord alone see who shall persevere until the end (Matthew 24:13), which is, indeed, the capital point of
(143) our salvation. Indeed, Christ affirmed that whatever the ministers of his word have loosed and bound on earth is loosed and bound in heaven. (Matthew 16:19) Yet it does not follow from this that we can discern those who are of the Church and those who are aliens to it. For by this promise he did not will to give us any external judgment which would indicate plainly to us and place before our eyes those who are bound and those who are loosed, but he promised this alone: that those who should have heard the evangelical promise preached by man himself, by which promise Christ offered himself in the earth, that is, in this life, for redemption and liberation,

and should have accepted it by faith, these, I say, are truly loosed and freed in heaven, that is, in the sight of God and of his judgment. But for those who have resisted and despised God, for them there is evidence by the same promise that in heaven and before God they should remain in their chains and, therefore, in their condemnation.

But although we cannot know with the certainty of faith who are chosen, nevertheless since the Scripture describes to us certain infallible distinguishing marks, as was said before, by means of which we may distinguish the elect and the sons of God from the reprobates and foreigners, in so far as he wills that we should know, all those who by a confession of faith, an exemplary life, and participation in the sacraments, confess with us the same Christ and God, ought to be considered with a certain charitable consideration as elect and members (144) of the Church. Even though some imperfection should remain in their manners (as no one on earth is seen to be perfect) provided that they do not caress and please themselves too much in their vices and expect something favourable from them, it will happen that under the guidance of God they will continuously make progress until divested of every imperfection they arrive at the eternal blessedness of the elect. For by means of these distinguishing marks and signs the Scripture defines for us the elect of God, the sons of God, the people of God, the Church of God, so that we might know them. But those who do not agree with us in the same faith or, even if they hold the confession with their lips nevertheless deny with their actions the God whom they confess with their mouth (as we see them in every aspect of life accursed and lost, drunk with the desire to be sinning, asleep and unaware of their evil deeds) they thus signify clearly that they are not, for the present, members of the Church. For this purpose excommunications have been established, by which those are disowned and expelled from the community of the faithful who falsely plead the faith of Christ, those who because of the wantonness of their life, and their unbridled passion in sinning, are not anything else than the scandal of the Church and unworthy, therefore, to glory in the name of Christ (1 Corinthians 5:1-5; Matthew 18:15-19; 1 Timothy 1:20). In the first place, it would be outrageous to God, if they were named among Christians; it would be as if his holy Church were all together a conspiracy of evil and reprobate men. In the second place, they must be excommunicated lest by the example of their perverse (145) life they should corrupt others because of frequent intercourse. Finally, that they themselves, confused by this disgrace, may begin to repent of their baseness, and from this repentance learn at last to know themselves.

We can judge such people as outside the Church for the time being, in so far as it is given to us to determine it, and in accordance with the rule of knowledge of which we spoke above. But, indeed, we must not despair of them, as if they had been abandoned beyond the hand of God. And it is wholly unlawful to strike anyone from the number of the elect, or to despair as if he were already lost, except perhaps those of whom it is known that they are condemned already by the word of God, as if, for example, anyone on purpose and with deliberate malice should oppose the truth in order to oppress the Gospel, to extinguish the name of God, to resist the Holy Spirit. For the mouth of the Lord has already pronounced against these, saying, "Sin against the Holy Spirit is not remitted in this world or the next." This we can feel so seldom, if we ever can that it is rather advisable to wait until the day of revelation, and not to rashly forestall God's judgment (Matthew 12:32; Hebrews 6:6, 10:26; John 5:28-29; 1 Corinthians 4:5). Let us not claim an excessive liberty to judge, unless we are willing to limit the power of God or to dictate a law to his mercy. For it pleased him time and time again that bad men should be changed into very good ones, that strangers should be introduced, and foreigners called, into the Church. Thus God baffles the opinion (146) of men and rebukes their temerity, that they dare not take into their hands the right to judge, beyond what is fitting. We must rather endeavour with mutual candour to think well of each other, as far as possible, to mutually put the best construction on the deeds and words of one another so that we do not twist them covertly and unfavourably as suspicious people often do (Matthew 7:1-5; Romans 12:9-10, 21; 14:13,19; 1 Thessalonians 5:15; Hebrews 12:14). Therefore, if some are so perverse that they do not allow us to think well of them,[1] let us, nevertheless, commit them into the hands of God and commend them to his goodness, hoping better things of these people than we see. For thus it will happen that mutually supporting ourselves with equity and patience, we may cultivate peace and love, and not, stupidly breaking into the most secret judgments of God, surround ourselves in the darkness of error. In order that I may finish with one word, I say, we should not condemn to death the person himself,[2] who is in the hand and under the judgment of God, but we should only judge of what kind are the works of each one according to the law of God which is the standard of good and evil.

This is the way in which excommunications must be understood, not that by means of them those who are disowned before men in the flock of the Church should be deprived of the hope of salvation, but that by excommunication they should be punished until they return from the baseness of their former life to the way. Just as Paul writes (1 Corinthians 5:5) that he "delivered a man to satan for the destruction of his flesh that his spirit might be saved in the day of the Lord. This means (as I interpret the same) that he (147) delivered him to a temporal condemnation, in order that he might be saved in eternity (1 Corinthians 5:6; 2 Thessalonians 3:14-15[1]). And so, although it is not lawful on account of ecclesiastical discipline to live in a friendly manner or to have intimate fellowship with those who have been excommunicated,[2] we ought, nevertheless, to strive by all means at our disposal, whether by exhortations and doctrine, whether by clemency and kindness, whether by our praises to God, so that, converted to a better moral excellence, they may be received into the society and unity of the Church. And not only must they be so treated but also the Turks and the Saracens and the rest of the enemies of the true religion. Far from us that we should approve of the method by which many have thus far undertaken to compel these men to embrace our faith, by refusing them water, fire, and the common elements of this world, denying them every service of humanity and persecuting them with iron and sword.[1]

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[1] The text is "Quod si qui ita perversi sunt, ut de se bene sentiri non permittant." Calvin has reference to persons who are so evil that it is impossible to see any good in them.

[2] In 1520, Leo X condemned as false the assertion of Luther: "Haereticos comburi est contra voluntatem Spiritus." *Vide*, Denzinger, *op. cit.*, p. 277

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[1] The text reads "2 Thess. ult."

[2] In Aquinas excommunication is treated under the aspects of minor or major excommunication (Cf. *Summa*, Suppl Q. 23, Aa.1-3). Minor excommunication was incurred by those who held communion with excommunicated persons (oratione, locutione, bibendo comedendo). Such a person could be absolved by the priest. Major excommunication was incurred by those who disobeyed the Pope, or who refused to submit to the discipline of the Church after having been found guilty of a civil or criminal offense. They were excommunicated from the Church Triumphant, and were given over to the devil. At the Council of Constance (1414-1418), however, a distinction was made between the tolerati (tolerated) and the vitandi (persons to be shunned). The ancient rules which prohibited communion with excommunicated persons *oratione*, *locutione*, *bibendo*

But although it is not lawful to judge individually who belongs to the Church and who does not, since we do not yet know the judgment of God, nevertheless wherever we see the word of God is sincerely preached and heard and the sacraments instituted by Christ administered, it is not to be doubted in any way that there is a Church of God,[2] since his promise cannot fail: "Wherever two or three are gathered in my name there I am in the midst of them" (Matthew 18:20). We cannot even have on earth (147) a more certain knowledge of God's Church, nor can we otherwise discern those who are outside the Church, not by any means! Yes, indeed, not one of these things is

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comedendo, that is to say, what Calvin calls "familiarus versari, aut interiorem consuetudinem" were enforced against the *vitandi*, namely, against heretics. It is clear, then, that Calvin reverted to the stricter discipline of the ancient and medieval Church and obliterated the distinction made by the Council of Constance between the *tolerati* and *vitandi*.

[1] Calvin may have in mind the Crusades. But as far as the style is concerned, compare the letter of Farel and Viret to the Evangelical German speaking Swiss and the German Protestant in Germany in which they relate the severity of the persecutions against the Vaudois de la Provence. Herminjard, III, pp. 327ff.

[2] Cf. *Confessio Augustana*, Art. VII. "Est autem Ecclesia congregatio Sanctorum, in qua Evangelium recte docetur, et recte administrantur Sacramenta." (C.R. XXVI, 276f).

understood except by faith, because we say that when we say: we believe in the Church. For these things are believed which cannot be seen by our present eyes. Wherefore, it is clear that the Church is not a carnal thing which ought to be present to our senses, or circumscribed in a certain place, or fixed in any See.

We also believe in the Communion of the Saints, that is, that in the Catholic Church there is a mutual communication and participation of all goods by all the elect, who at the same time worship God with true faith. Wherefore, it is not denied that the graces of each one are different (as Paul teaches that the gifts of the Spirit are diverse and distributed in different ways) (1 Corinthians 12:4-11;)[1] it is not denied that each one should rightly and orderly hold his own property, because they possess this right from the civil constitution (as it is necessary under the first principles of the world that possessions should be distinct among men); but the community of the faithful observe this point: that they share among themselves, generously and with the love which they owe to each other, every kind of possessions, whether of the spirit or of the body, in so far as it is fair and experience demands it.

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[1] The editio princeps has "1 Cor. 11." The C.R. has corrected the mistake without noting the fact.

And, indeed, whichever of God's gifts fall to one's lot, they are truly participants of it, although by the dispensation of God this gift is given particularly to one, not to the others (Romans 12:4-8; 1 Corinthians 12:12, 26); likewise, the members of the body share all things (149) among themselves by a certain mutual participation, nevertheless each one had its own peculiar gifts and distinct functions; for, as has been said, they are gathered and fitted together in one body. This is the Catholic Church, the mystical body of Christ (Ephesians 1:22-23). Thus in the last section we have testified that we believe in the Church. In this we truly declare that this is the kind of Church in which we believe. I know, indeed, that this part has been omitted by some,[1] interpreted in another sense by others;[2] but I have interpreted it with the best faith and to the best of my ability.

We believe in the remission of sins, that is, that by virtue of the divine liberality, and the mediating merit of Christ, there is grace and remission of sins for us who have been admitted and inserted into the body of Christ. But the remission of sins is not given either

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[1] The article is not found in any creed before the middle of the sixth century. It has never appeared in the doctrinal formulae of the Eastern Church.

[2] The Roman Church teaches that since Christ is one, there is union between those in heaven, upon the earth and in purgatory. This union is expressed by the prayers of those on earth to those in heaven for those in purgatory. Luther, on the other hand, taught that this article of the creed meant that the believer has fellowship with Christ.

from some other source, or for any other reason, or to any others (Acts 10:43; 1 John 2:1-12; Isaiah 33:24). For outside this Church and this communion of saints there is no salvation. Further, the Church herself stands and subsists by this remission of sins, that is, as it were, supported by this foundation (Hosea 2:18-23). Since the remission of sins is the way to God, the way by which he is approached, and the reason by which he is reconciled to us, this reconciliation, therefore, at the same time opens for us entrance into the Church (which is the city of God and the tabernacle which the Most High has sanctified for his dwelling place), and keeps and defends us in the Church (Psalm 46:4-5, 87:1-3; 1 Timothy 3:15). But the faithful receive this remission
(149) when, confused afflicted and oppressed by the consciousness of their sins, they are terrified by their consciousness of the divine judgment and are disgusted with themselves and, as it were, groan and labour under a heavy burden, and by this hatred of their sin and their confusion, they mortify their flesh and whatever is from themselves. For as they go on constantly repenting (for this is requisite) as long as they live in the prison of their body, so steadily and constantly they obtain that remission itself. Not because their repentance has any merit, but because it pleased the Lord to manifest himself to men in this manner, so that through knowledge of their own poverty they should lay aside all pride,

humble themselves completely, become absolutely vile in their own sight, then, at last, they may begin to taste the sweetness of the mercy which he proposes to them in Christ. Having thus obtained mercy they breathe again, and take comfort having a firm assurance in Christ of the remission of sins and the blessed salvation. Again those who do not try to reach God by these steps never attain this remission of sins which is the pivot of our salvation (Luke 16:15,26). Even though they should excell by the splendid magnificence of their works, even to the point of doing a miracle, still God abominates their works, deeds and thought, especially those works which beguile men with a greater appearance of holiness; the eyes of these men are blinded by the empty splendour of works.

(151) We believe in the resurrection of the flesh, that is it shall come to pass that all the bodies of men shall be raised at the same time from corruption to incorruption, from mortality to immortality (1 Corinthians 15:20-56; 1 Thessalonians 4:13-17; Acts 23:6-9), and, indeed, even those who have departed previously from life shall receive again their own flesh, whether it has been eaten away by worms, or decayed in the earth, or reduced to dust, or wasted in any other way. (John 5:28-32.)[1] As for those who shall be found alive at that time, even they shall lay aside the corruption of their flesh, and shall be

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[1] The text is omitted in C.R. and Barth.

transformed by a sudden change to an immortal nature, the pious, indeed, to the glory of life, the reprobates to the condemnation of death (Matthew 25:31-46).

Finally, we believe in eternal life, to wit, it shall come to pass that the Lord will then receive them, glorified in body and in soul, to beatitude which will remain unchanged for ever, beyond any kind of change or corruption. This beatitude will be a true and genuine perfection unto life, light and justice, when we shall cling inseparably to the Lord, who as an inexhaustible fountain contains in himself the fulness of these blessings (1 Corinthians 15:28-53). Truly, this beatitude will be the kingdom of God, filled with all brightness, joy, virtue and felicity, things most remote now from the understanding of men, and which (as Paul says)[1] (1 Corinthians 2:9), "no ear heard, no eye saw, no human mind perceived." On the contrary, the impious and reprobates who did not seek or worship (152) God with sincere faith, since they will not have any part in God or in his kingdom, will be thrown to eternal death with the devils; so that, beyond the reach of all joy, virtue, and the other blessings of the heavenly kingdom, condemned to eternal darkness and eternal torment, they are gnawed by the eternal worm and burn in unextinguishable fire (Matthew 22:13; Isaiah 66:26;[2] Mark 9:43-49).

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[1] The brackets are omitted in C.R. and Barth.

[2] The *editio princeps* has "Ies. ult."

And so, indeed, it is fitting that we believe both in the communion of saints, the remission of sins, the resurrection of the flesh, and eternal life, that assured of the goodness of the Lord, we may believe without doubt that all these things are going to happen to us together with all the saints. And so, in order to signify how certain and immovable the truth of these things is, and in order that all may confirm themselves in this faith, establishing for each other the Lord as his God and Christ as his Saviour, awaiting the resurrection and eternal life, this entire confession is closed with the word, Amen, which is the mark of a proven certitude.

Wherever this faith is alive, which we have shown above to be trust in one God and in Christ, it certainly cannot be idle; rather, it has as its companions, hope and love.[1] If these are entirely lacking, howsoever much we may speak eloquently about faith, we are convicted of not having any. This is not because faith is born in us out of hope and love, but because it is absolutely impossible for hope and love not to always follow faith let us prove this first with regard to hope. If faith (as we have heard)[2] is a definite conviction of God's truth which cannot lie to us, nor beguile us, nor be invalid, those who grasp this certitude really expect at the same time that God will fulfill his promises, since in their opinion such promises cannot but be true. In short, hope is nothing else than the expectation of those things which faith has believed to be truly promised by God. Thus faith believes in a truthful God; hope expects that he manifest his truth at the right time. Faith believes that he is our Father; hope expects that he conduct himself toward us as such. Faith believes that eternal life is given to us; hope expects that one day it shall be received. Faith is the foundation upon which hope rests; hope nourishes and sustains faith. For as not one can expect anything from God, if he has not first believed in his promises, so again, the weakness of our faith must with patient hope and expectation be nourished and sustained, lest, as if exhausted, it waste away. As regards love, the argument is just as clear. For when faith embraces Christ as he is offered to us by the Father, he truly is not only our remission, righteousness, peace and reconciliation, but also our sanctification and the fount of living water, it undoubtedly discovers in (154) him love which is the gift and fruit of the Holy Spirit and the work of that sanctification (Galatians 5:22-25). Behold! how hope and love are born and grow alike from faith,[1] and have been added to it and interwoven with it by an indivisible connection. However, we must not think about love what we have taught above about hope, to wit, that faith is nourished, preserved and made firm by it. Indeed, this is proper of hope because while it awaits the Lord in silence and patience it restrains faith lest it should hurry along too fast, and it confirms faith lest it should vacillate and doubt about faith in God's promises (Isaiah 28:16). The essence of love is entirely different. It has nothing in common with these two. Those who are accustomed to unduly stress the saying of Paul (1 Corinthians 13:2), "if a man should have all faith, to the point of moving mountains, yet should not have love, he is nothing," From this ~~they~~ claim that there is a certain faith without love (which they call "fides informis")[1] But they do not realize what it is that the Apostle means by "faith" in this passage. For, in the preceding chapter, Paul treats of the various gifts of the Spirit, among which he enumerates the powers,[2] the gifts of tongues, and prophecy, and he exhorts the Corinthians to strive after the best of these gifts, that is to say, these from which more fruit returns to the Church. Now he goes on to say that he is going to give a still better reason: for all these gifts, no matter how excellent in themselves, are yet nothing unless they are in the service of love, since they were (155) given for the edification of the Church; thus, if they fail to contribute to that edification, they lose their own value. To prove this, Paul resorts to a distributive argument, repeating the very same gifts which he had enumerated above, but under different names. Thus he uses "powers" and "faith" in the same sense, meaning "the gift to do miracles." And since such a gift, be it called "power," or "miraculous faith," is a particular gift of God, liable to be abused, like also the gift of tongues, prophecy, or other charisms, it is obvious that it is far different from the true and Christian faith. This may be observed from the example of Judas, who had charismatic faith, and yet he was anything but faithful. (Luke 10:17-20,42). From this very passage and from the following statement in the same chapter, that love is greater than faith and hope, our adversaries forcibly claim that therefore we are justified by love rather than by faith, or, as it were, by a power which, so they say, is a more excellent one. But their cavil may be refuted without difficulty. For we hold that what is said in the first passage has nothing to do with true faith. We also interpret the second passage as about true faith, in which it says that love is greater because it is more fruitful, more accessible, more useful to more people, always flourishes, whereas the usefulness of faith has a temporary value. Which person with sound judgment, yes, which one with a totally sound brain, argues from this passage that love justifies more? For the power of justifying does not consist in the dignity (156) of the work. Our justification depends upon the mercy of God alone. When faith apprehends God's mercy, it is said that faith justifies. But if some brawler should interrupt and ask, why I use the concept "faith" in various ways in so small an interval, I would reply that it is not a small reason that makes this interpretation evident. For since these gifts which Paul enumerates are subjected in some way to faith and hope because they have regard for the knowledge of God, all these things *κατ' ἀνακεφαλαίωσιν*[1] he comprehends under the name of faith and hope, as if he should say, a prophecy and tongues, and the gifts of interpretation, and science have this aim, to lead to the knowledge of God. But we do not know God in this life except by faith and hope. Therefore, when I name "faith" and "hope" I understand all these things at the same time. "And so these three remain faith, hope, and love"[2] that is, howsoever great the variety of the gifts may be, they are all referred back to these three, but among these love is supreme, etc. Therefore, we must think that faith, hope and love

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[1] Calvin undoubtedly has in mind I Corinthians 13:13.

[2] The brackets are omitted in C.R. and Barth.

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[1] For another point of view, compare Peter Lombard, "charitas...mater est omnium virtutum." Sententiarum Libri Quatuor, III, Dist. XXIII, 3.

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[1] Brackets dropped in C.R. and Barth.

[2] The text has "virtutes."

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[1] By way of recapitulation.

[2] 1 Corinthians 13:13a.

are gifts of the Holy Spirit, and not one of them can be introduced or continue except by the mercy of God (1 Corinthians 4:7). And so we all learn, not to seek in ourselves, but to ask from God. And if we feel in ourselves something either of hope, or of love, or of faith, we refer all which is received to God, entreating (157) him with heart and mouth, with the heart principally, and this continually,[1] as he wishes to protect these virtues in us and to promote them more and more day by day. For thus it is necessary for us that we should increase constantly while we are in this life, which (while it is conducted the best for us)[2] is not anything else than a journey and progression, until we attain wholly to God in whom all our perfection is placed.

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[1] C.R. and Barth have bracked the words, "with the heart principally, and this continually."

[2] C.R. and Barth have dropped these brackets.

CHAPTER THREE

CONCERNING PRAYER, TOGETHER WITH AN EXPLANATION OF THE LORD'S PRAYER

From the things which have been discussed up to the present, we clearly perceive how needy and empty man is of all good things, and how he lacks all the means of his salvation. Wherefore, if he seeks for relief whereby he may aid his neediness he must go outside himself and procure it from somewhere else. Afterwards, this point was explained to us;[1] that the Lord voluntarily and freely manifests himself to us in his Christ, in whom he offers all kinds of felicity for our unhappiness and riches for our poverty; in whom he opens to us the heavenly treasures, (158) that our whole faith should contemplate that beloved Son of his, that all our expectation should depend upon him, that in him our hope should adhere and rest. This, indeed, is a secret and hidden philosophy and one which cannot be drawn out of syllogisms; but they learn it thoroughly whose eyes God has opened that in his light they may see light.[2] But since we are taught by faith to recognize that whatever is necessary for us, and whatever we lack, the same is in God and in our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom the Father, indeed, has willed that all the fullness of his liberality should reside, in order that we may draw from thence, as from a most abundant fountain (Colossians 1:19; John 1:16), it remains that we should seek in him and ask from him by means of prayers what we have learned is in him. Otherwise, to know God as the Lord and liberal Giver of all good things, who invites us to call upon him, but neither to draw nigh to him nor to call upon him, would be utterly fruitless; it would be just as if someone shown a treasure, buried and hidden in the ground, should disregard it. This last point, because until now it has been mentioned in passing and, as it were, lightly, must now be treated more at length.

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[1] The *editio princeps* has "vobis." This as Barth points out is a mistake. Barth, I, 96.

[2] Cf. Psalm 36:10.

Then, let this be the first law of a right prayer: that we give up every thought of our own glory, that we lay aside every notion of our own dignity, that we depart from all our own confidence, giving the glory, (159) in our abjection and humility, to the Lord, as we are admonished by prophetic doctrine (Daniel 9:18-19): "We do not, because of our own righteousness, pour out our prayers before thee, but because of thy mercy; hear us, O Lord; O Lord be gracious unto us; Hear us and do what we ask for thy sake; because thy name is invoked upon the people and upon thy holy place." Another prophet also (Baruck 2:18-20) writes: "A soul sad and desolate because of the magnitude of evil, crooked and weak, a famished soul and failing eyes give glory to thee, O Lord. Not because of the righteousness of our fathers do we pour out our prayers in thy presence, O Lord our God; but because thou art merciful, have mercy upon us, because we have sinned before thee." Let also another

rule be that we should truly feel our own indigence, and seriously consider that we stand in need of those things which we ask from God for ourselves and for our benefit, and that we ask them in order to receive them from him. For if we should have another feeling or intention, our prayer would be faked and impure. As if, for example, someone should ask from God the remission of sins, not really and seriously believing that he was a sinner. This person with his pretence would not do anything else except laugh at God. Then, we are only to ask those things which are for the glory of God, in order that we may ask for them with great passionate desire and fervour, as, for example, when we ask that his name be sanctified, we ought (so to say) to ardently long
(160) and thirst for that sanctification. And so, provided that we understand that we are pressed and burdened by the weight of our sins, provided that we see ourselves empty of all those things which could procure for us grace before God (so that such a feeling does not terrify us to the extent that we do not flee to him),[1] it is necessary for us to think and to feel such things when we draw nigh to him (Luke 17:7-10). For prayer was not instituted that we may present ourselves arrogantly before God, or that we should esteem too highly anything of ours, but that we may confess our misfortunes and

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[1] The brackets have been added by the translator.

bewail them before him, as children familiarly put their complaints before their parents. Indeed, this feeling ought to serve more like a spur and stimulus by which we are urged on more and more to prayer.

Our very kind Father has added two things to this knowledge of our indigence by means of which he may powerfully incite us to a zeal for prayer: the command, by which he admonishes us to pray; the promise, in which he pledges that we are going to get whatever we shall ask.[1] We have the command repeated many times: "ask," "come to me," "seek me," "return to me," "call me in the day of your need:" and with many other sayings, as well as in the third commandment of the law, in which we are forbidden to take the Lord's name in vain (Luke 11:13; John 16:23-26; Matthew 7:7,11:28; Zechariah 1:3; Psalm 50:15; Exodus 20:7). For the same reason that we are forbidden to use his name in vain, we are commanded to use it to his glory, attributing to it all the praise (161) of virtue, of good, of wealth, and of help, while we both expect and ask these very things from him. For this reason, if we do not flee to him when any need urges us, if we do not seek him and implore his help, we provoke his wrath, just as if we either made strange gods for ourselves or fabricated idols, indeed, we despise his will equally with contempt for all his precepts. Again, those who invoke him, seek him, offer praise to him, enjoy a great consolation, because they understand that in this way they do the thing agreeable to him and are obedient to his will. The promise is, "Ask and you shall receive," "it shall happen to you," "I shall hear you," "I shall rescue you," "I shall restore you," "I shall comfort you," "I shall feed you abundantly," "you will not be confounded." (Matthew 7:7; Luke 11:10; John 16:23-24; Mark 11:24).

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[1] Cf. Melanchthon, "Dixi de praecepta...Secundo, Consideranda est promissio..." *Loci* (C.R. XXI, 537).

All these things, as they have been promised to us by the Father, so without doubt they will be performed, if we expect them with stedfast faith. For it is not the merit or dignity of prayer which obtains our petitions, but that all the hope of prayer is placed in such a promise and thus depends upon it (Isaiah 65:24; Jeremiah 29:13-14; Psalm 50:15, 91:16; Matthew 11:28). And so we must establish in our hearts that we shall be heard, no less than Peter or Paul or any other of the Saints was heard (although they were endowed with greater sanctity of life than we are)* if, however, we implore God with the same and equally firm faith. This is because we have been provided and armed with the same command to pray and (162) with the same promise to prevail. For God does not esteem the value of prayer from the dignity of the person but from faith alone, by which we listen to his precepts and trust in his promises. Again, those who are by no means secure in the promise of God, call his truthfulness in doubt and so, doubtful and perplexed as to whether they are to be heard, they call upon God himself but effect nothing (as James says)* (James 1:6), when he compares them with the waves which are variously tossed and driven about by the wind. Then, since the Lord affirms that it will happen to each one according to his faith, it follows that without faith we can obtain nothing (Matthew 8:13, 9:29; Mark 11:24). But since no man is worthy that he should present himself to God and appear in his presence, the heavenly Father himself, to free us from this confusion which used to cast down the mind of us all, has given his own Son, Jesus Christ our Lord for us, so that he may be before him our advocate and mediator, under whose leadership we might safely draw nigh to him (1 Timothy 2:5; 1 John 2:1; Hebrews 8:1-6, 9:15), assured by such an intercessor that nothing which we may have asked in his name will be denied to us, just as nothing can be denied to him by the Father (Hebrews 4:14-16); that the throne of God is not only the throne of his majesty but also of his grace, before which "we dare to appear with all confidence in his name to obtain mercy and to find grace in time of need."

(163) And so there is a law established that we should call upon God, as also a promise is given that those who have called upon him are to be heard, so we are particularly enjoined to call upon him in the name of

Christ, and we have the promise set forth that we obtain the things which we have asked in his name (John 14:13; 16:24). Hence, without controversy it is clear that those who call upon God in another name, other than the name of Christ, obstinately transgress his commands and reckon his will as nothing, and do not have any promise that they will receive anything. For (as Paul says)* (2 Corinthians 1:20): "All the promises of God in Christ are yea and amen," that is, they are confirmed and fulfilled. Further, since he is the only way and only entrance by which we are given access to God (John 14:6), those who turn away from this way and forsake this entrance, for them there remains no other way and no other entrance to God; there is nothing left on his throne except wrath, judgment and terror. Finally, since the Father has appointed him as our head and leader (John 6)[1], those who shun him or turn aside from him in any way,[2] try, as far as they can, to destroy and to adulterate the mark stamped by God.

As regards the saints who, being dead, live in

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[1] Calvin is mistaken in this reference. Matthew 2:6 reads "ex te enim exiet dux..." and 1 Corinthians 11:3; Ephesians 1:22, 4:15, 5:23 and Colossians 1:18 teach that Christ is our head.

[2] Calvin perhaps has in mind mariolatry. Cf. the following statement from St. Germanus of Constantinople, "O Lady, all-chaste, all-good, rich in mercy, comfort of Christian, tender consoler of the afflicted, the ever-open refuge of sinners...For no one, Lady all-holy, is saved except through thee..." Medieval writings abound in such sentiments. *Vide*, Paul F. Palmer, *Mary in the Documents of the Church*, (Westminster: The Newman Press), 1952. The quotation is on page 57.

Christ, let us not dream that for even them there is any other way of praying to God than Christ (who alone is the way)* or that they are accepted by God in any other name. Therefore, since Scripture calls us away (164) from all others to the one Christ, since the heavenly Father wishes that all things should be gathered together in him (Colossians 1:20; Ephesians 1:10), it is an error for us to devise access through the saints who cannot stand before him by themselves. Besides, since they refer all their desires solely to the will of God, they contemplate it, they rest in it, he thinks foolishly and carnally, and even insolently about them, who assigns any prayer to them, than the one in which they pray for the coming of the kingdom of God, which is fulfilled in salvation of the pious as well as in the confusion of the reprobates. Wherefore, we must not expect to be helped in any way by their prayers, unless we have a part in Christ and are a part of his kingdom. In the same manner, again, if we are partakers of Christ we must resolve firmly that whatever we decide is from God, and that all the Church, of which the saints are members, prays for us, while she prays that the kingdom of her Lord may come. But further, although they pray for us in this way, still we must not invoke them.[1]

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[1] For a similar point of view, cf., Melanchthon "Porro ut maxime pro Ecclesia orent Sancti, tamen non sequitur quod sint invocandi." Melanchthon's Apologia Confessionis Augustanae Art. XXI (C.R. XXVII, 588).

Neither does it thereby follow that they must do so because men who live on earth can in turn recommend themselves the one to the other in their prayers[1] (1 Timothy 2:1-7; James 5:13-18). For this practice serves to nourish love in them, in so far as they, as it were, divide and mutually assume their needs among themselves. This procedure is absent in relation to the dead, whom the Lord (165) has withdrawn from our companionship. Although their love for us always flourishes, so that by faith they are one with us in Christ, and with us bound to Christ, still no communion remains whether of tongue or of hearing (1 Corinthians 13:10f). For to affirm otherwise, what is it, if not under the influence of a drunken dream of the brain, to wish to break through and penetrate without his word into the hidden judgments of God, and to trample under foot the Scripture which so many times pronounces the wisdom of our flesh as an enemy of the wisdom of God, totally condemns the vanity of our understanding, and having prostrated all our reason wills that we should have regard for the will of God alone (Deuteronomy 12:8,32). But Scripture presents Christ to us in a unique way, it sends us to him, and it establishes us in him. Even Ambrose says, "He is our mouth with which we speak to the Father, our eyes with which we see the Father, our right hand with which we offer ourselves to the Father;"[1] whereby unless he is interceeding, there is neither for us nor for all the saints anything with God.

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[1] Cf. Eck, "Si ergo vivi orant pro invicem, cur etiam beati mortui hoc non facerunt qui sunt in charitate perfectiores..." Enchiridion "De Veneratione Sanctorum" FF3.

Further, those who choose and select particular patrons from among the saints drag them back from that unique will, which (as we said) they hold fixed and immovable in God to the end that the kingdom may come. These people attribute to the saints carnal affection (166) which is more favourable to one or another of their worshippers. Wherefore, they truly make them their mediators, as if Christ had failed them, or were too severe with them, dishonouring him and robbing him of the title The Sole Mediator, which was given to him by the Father as a unique prerogative, so that it must not be transferred to anyone else. And by this very thing they obscure the glory of his birth, make the cross vain, and finally, strip and defraud from his praise whatever he did or suffered for our salvation, since all these things point to this, that he alone is the mediator and should be held as such. In the same manner they throw away the kindness of God, who manifested himself to them as Father. For he is not a Father to them unless they recognize that Christ is their brother. This they rotundly deny, if they think that he does not have a brotherly feeling toward them, a feeling more tender than which there is nothing. But some are moved by this argument: that one reads often that the prayers of the saints are heard. Why? Certainly because they prayed. "They hoped in thee," says the Prophet (Psalm 22:5), "and were saved; they cried, and were not confounded." Therefore, let us pray according to their example, so that we, like them, may be heard. But we would argue perversely, contrary to what is fitting, if we should say that none shall be heard except those who have once been heard. How much better James! "Elijah," he says, "was a man like us, and he prayed his prayer that it should not rain, and it did not rain upon the earth for three years and six months. Again (167) he prayed, "and the heavens gave rain and the earth gave its fruit." (James 5:17-18). By this statement he does not ascribe to Elijah a prerogative, but he teaches the power of prayer, so that he might exhort us to pray in like manner.

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[1] Barth identifies this text as De Isaac et Anima, 8, 75, (P.L. 14,557). Two points should be noted about this quotation. First, it is incomplete. Second, one clause is Calvin's interpretation of Ambrose. The text is "Ipse sit caput nostrum, quia caput Christus viri: ipse oculus noster, ut per illum videamus Patrem: ipse vox nostra, per quem loquamur ad Patrem: ipse dextera, per quem Deo Patri sacrificium nostrum deferamus: ipse quoque est signaculum nostrum quod est perfectionis et charitatis insigne..."

There are two parts of prayer (as we now use this term): petition and thanksgiving.[1] By means of petition we place before God the desires of our heart, asking from his goodness, first those things which are alone in the service of his glory, then also those things which are profitable for our use (1 Timothy 2:1). By means of thanksgiving we recognize and confess with praise his benefits to us, attributing to his goodness whatever good gifts we have received. Both kinds of prayer are comprehended in one verse of David when he writes (Psalm 50:15) in the person of God: "Call upon me in the day of trouble, I will deliver thee, and thou shalt glorify me."[1] We ought to make use of them both constantly (Luke 18:1, 21:36; Ephesians 5:20). But so great is our indigence, so great our anxiety about the things which press us and beset us on all sides, that there is sufficient reason for all, even the holiest, to continually groan and sigh for God and to call upon him as supplicants. In addition to this, the so great and such widespread liberality of God's benefits almost overwhelms us, so many and so great are his miracles, wherever thou mayest look they are evident, so that we may never lack occasion and reason for praise and thanksgiving. And that these things may be explained somewhat more clearly, since

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[1] Aquinas affirms that there are four parts of prayer, *obsecrationes*, *orationes*, *postulationes et gratiarum actiones*. For him, "petitio...significatur nomine postulationis." *Summa*, II-II, Q. 83, Art. 17. Calvin's twofold division is derived from Melanchthon. See note 1 on page 223

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[1] Melanchthon's quotes the same text to indicate that prayer is divided into two parts. Cf. "Orationis vocabule vulgo utimur et pro invocatione et pro gratiarum actione...Invocatio est petere aliquid a Deo...Has species saepe coniungit scriptura; ut Psalm 49 (vs. 15) 'Invoca me, et honorificabis me etc." Loci, De Oratione. (C.R. XXI, 536).

(168) all our hope and resources depend upon God in such a way (this was proved above) that neither we nor our things can be prosperous without his blessing, it is necessary that we should recommend ourselves continually to him and commit all our possessions to him (James 4:14-17). Then, whatever we purpose, speak, or do, we should purpose, speak and do under his hand and will, in short, under the help of his hand. For all persons are pronounced cursed by God who, trusting in themselves or in someone else, discuss and decide upon plans, who outside his will or without calling upon him, attempt to strive after or to undertake anything (Isaiah 30:1, 31:1). But since it was said that he is to be recognized as the author of all good things, it follows that all things are to be accepted as from his hand with continuous thanksgiving, and that there is no other right way to use his benefits which flow and proceed to us from his liberality for no other end than that we should be constantly confessing his praise and giving thanks. For Paul, when he testifies (1 Timothy 4:5) that they are "sanctified by the word and prayer," indicates at the same time that they are not sanctified at all without the word and prayer, understanding, of course, metonomically faith by word.

This is the reason why Paul in another place commands us to pray without ceasing (1 Thessalonians 5:17; 1 Timothy 2:1-3), wishing that at all times, at every hour, in all places, in all things, the prayers of all those who expect all things from him and attribute the praise of all things to him, should be raised to God, (169) in order that the reasons for praising and praying might be perpetually set forth by us. However, this constancy in prayer refers to the personal and private prayers of each one and has nothing to do with the public prayers of the Church, which can be neither continuous, nor ought to be made except in the manner which for the sake of order has been established by common consent. Therefore certain hours are appointed and prescribed which are as indifferent to God as necessary for the needs of men, that the convenience of all might be provided for and "everything be administered decently and in an orderly manner," (according to the decision of Paul) "in the Church." (1 Corinthians 14:40). And for this purpose public places have been selected, which we call temples, which do not make prayers more holy or cause God to hear them because of any secret sanctity of their own, but because they accomodate more satisfactorily the congregation of the faithful when they congregate to pray, to hear the preaching of the word and to receive the sacraments. In other respects (as Paul says)* (1 Corinthians 3:16, 6:19; 2 Corinthians 6:16), "we ourselves are the true temples of God." Wherefore, if we wish to pray in the temple of God, we pray even in ourselves. But those who believe that the ear of the

Lord is drawn closer to them in the temple, or that the sanctity of the place leads to holier prayers, do this grossly as Jews and pagans, worshipping God carnally, contrary to what is commanded, namely, that we should (170) "worship in spirit and in truth," without making any distinction as regards the place (John 4:23).

But since it is the aim of prayer, as we have already said, that our mind be lifted up and carried to God in a confession of praise and a supplication for help, it must be understood from this that the principal part of prayer is placed in the mind and heart or, rather, that prayer itself is in a proper sense the interior disposition of the heart which is poured out and laid before God the searcher of hearts. Wherefore, Christ our Lord, when he willed to state the best law concerning prayer, commanded that "we should enter into a room, and there, the door being shut, to pray to our Father in secret, so that our Father who is in secret might hear us" (Matthew 6:6). For in this way he drew us away from the example of the hypocrites who capture the favour of men by a studious display of prayers. He adds at the same time what is better, to enter a room and, the door being shut, to pray there. In these words (as I understand them) he taught us to descend and to enter with our whole thought into our heart, promising that by virtue of such feelings of our heart God will be near us, whose temples our hearts[1] ought to be. For neither did he intend to deny that it is also useful to pray in other places; but he shows that prayer is a kind of secret thing, which is both principally in the heart, and requires (171) most of all tranquility of heart, far away from all the disturbances of worldly cares. Thereupon, it is more than clear that neither voice nor song (if they be used in prayer)* has any value or help a trifle before God, if they have not proceeded from a deep affection of the heart. Rather, they provoke against us God's wrath if (172) they are simply emitted from the lips and throat; since that is to abuse his most holy name and to hold his majesty in derision, as God affirms by the prophet (Isaiah 29:13-14; Matthew 15:8-9). "This people," he says, "draw near to me with their mouth and honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me." And, "They have feared me with the command and doctrine of men. Behold, therefore, I will do among this people a miracle, great and to be wondered at; for wisdom shall perish from among their wise men and the prudence of their old men shall vanish."

Nor do we condemn here voice or song, as long as they follow the disposition of the mind and serve it. For in this way they exercise the mind and keep it intent on thinking about God (as it is slippery)* and is easily relaxed and distracted in various directions. Besides, since the glory of God ought to shine in some way in every part of our body, it is fitting that the tongue should be assigned and devoted to this ministry, whether singing or speaking. The tongue has been created particularly for narrating and proclaiming the praise of God. But the most excellent use of the tongue is in the public prayers which are held in the assembly of the faithful; the design of which is that we all with one common voice, (172) and, as it were, with the same mouth, together glorify God when we worship in one spirit and with the same faith; and that publicly, so that all, each one mutually, may receive the confession of faith of his own brother, and be incited by his example. Wherefore, it is perfectly obvious that public prayers must not be expressed in Greek among the Latins, or in Latin among the French or English (as until now it has been the custom everywhere)* but they must be composed in the language of the people which can be understood by the common assemblage.[1] It is fitting that they should be for the edification of the entire Church, who receives no fruit at all from a sound which is not understood. But those who have no regard for love should at least have been somewhat moved by the authority of Paul, whose words are not at all ambiguous (1 Corinthians 14:16-17): "If thou shouldest bless," he says, "in the Spirit, he who occupies the place of the unlearned, how will he say 'amen' to thy blessing, since he does not know what thou sayest? For thou givest thanks, but the other is not edified." But this must be fully admitted: that it is by no means possible, either in public prayer or in private, that the tongue without the heart is accepted by God. Besides, there ought to be such power and ardour in that which the mind thinks that it surpasses by far that which the tongue can articulate when it enunciates it. Lastly, even words (173) are not necessary for private prayer, as the interior feeling itself is sufficient for exciting itself, so that sometimes the best prayers make no use of words, as is seen in the case of Moses and Hannah (Exodus 14;[1] 1 Samuel 1:13). Now we must learn not only a more certain method of prayer, but also its form as well, namely, that form which the heavenly Father gave to us through his beloved Son, in which one can recognize the liberality of his great goodness and kindness (Matthew 6:9-13; Luke 11:2-4). For besides the fact that he warns and exhorts us to seek him in all our needs (as children are wont to betake themselves to the protection of their parents)* when oppressed with any anxiety, seeing that we were not fully aware how great our poverty was, or what was right for our own interest to ask, he has provided for this ignorance; that wherein our capacity failed he has fully supplied. For he composed for us a form, in which he put forth, as if on a tablet, everything that it is lawful to beg from him, everything that is conducive to our good, everything which is necessary to ask. From this kindness of his we receive a great benefit of consolation, because we understand that we ask almost in his words, that we ask nothing that is absurd, or foreign to him, or unsuitable, in short, that we ask nothing unacceptable to him. This, whether a form or whether a model of prayer, is made up of six petitions. For I cannot assent to those who (174) distinguish seven petitions,[1] because there are only six read in Luke[2] who surely did not leave behind an

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[1] As Barth points out the editio princeps has "eius templa esse debent corpora nostra." In the Errata, however, there is the correction "170. corda nost. 20."

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[1] Cf. Faber Stabulensis, "Et maxima pars hominum cum nunc orat, nescio si spiritu, tamen mente non orat. Nam in lingua orat quam non intelligit." Commentary on 1 Corinthians 14, *In Omnes Epistola Pauli Commentaria*, (Paris: Henrici Stephani), 1515, leaf 122 verso.

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[1] This reference is a mistake. Calvin dropped it in 1539.

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[1] 1. Roman Catholic theologians divide the prayer into seven petitions. Cf., for example, Augustine, Enchiridion ad Laurentium, cap 115 (P.L. 40, 285) The reformers also followed this arrangement. Cf. Luther, Der Kleine Katechismus, (Werke 30.i., p. 306); and Bucer, In Evangelion Matthaei Enarrationes, cap. VI., in Enarrationes Perpetua in Sacra Quatuor Evangelia, (Argentorati Apud Georgium Ulricherum Andlanum), 1530, pp 64-67 obverso.

[2] 2. According to Barth, this reference to six petitions proves that Calvin used Erasmus' Greek New Testament. It is clear that the reformer is not following the Vulgate, since the text in Matthew has seven petitions and that in Luke has five. Erasmus, however, has in the Greek and Latin editions of the Matthean text seven petitions,

incomplete prayer. So that, moreover, that which has been added in Matthew as the seventh petition may be referred exegetically to the sixth petition.[1] But although in all these petitions the first place is assigned to the glory of God, still on the other hand, they are all for our good, and thus it is expedient that it should occur thus as we pray. Nevertheless, the first three petitions are particularly appointed to the glory of God, to which we are to look (as they say) without any reference to our advantage. The three remaining petitions refer to our care and are properly assigned to those things which because of our need are to be

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as in the Vulgate. It must be noted, however, that in his Annotationes at the end of his translation of the New Testament he observes that "sed libera nos a malo" is not found in certain Latin texts. Barth affirms that on Erasmus' authority Calvin maintained that the complete text of the Lord's Prayer contained six petitions. His thesis seems to be that Calvin dropped the "sed libera nos a malo" on the basis of Erasmus' Annotationes. We affirm, however, that it is more probable that the reformer based his division of the Lord's Prayer on the arrangement in the Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum which has six petitions. (Homily xiv, P.G. 56, 711ff). There are two considerations in support of this view. First, Calvin knew the work. He cited it, although incorrectly in De lege. Second, and of more importance, in the 1539 edition of his work, Calvin wrote: "Nobiscum etiam sentiunt veteres Ecclesiae scriptores (Chrysost. autho. ope. imper.)" Barth, IV, 344f. We affirm, then, contrary to Barth, that Calvin's arrangement of the Lord's Prayer is based on the Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum.

[1] This point raised by Calvin is obviously correct. But it is equally correct to include the third petition, "Fiat voluntas tua, sicut in coelo, et in terra," in the second, Adveniat regnum tuum," as Luke has done, but which Calvin did not do. It must be concluded, therefore, that the reformer's argument here is weak.

prayed for.[1] Thus, when we pray that the name of God should be sanctified, we must not think at all about our convenience, but we must put his glory before us, which we alone contemplate with intent eyes; nor ought we to be affected by these prayers in any other way. And so truly this very thing turns out to be for us a great advantage, because while we thus ask that his name may be glorified, our salvation also comes to pass. But, as we have said, our eyes, as it were, ought to be blind to this kind of utility, lest we think upon it in any other way; as if, for example, all hope of our personal good were cut off, we should not desire and ask in our prayers for this sanctification, and any other things which pertain to the glory of God. This is seen in the examples of Moses and Paul (Exodus 32:32; Romans 9:3), (175) who turning their minds and eyes away from themselves, with vehement and fiery zeal asked for their own perdition, so that at their own expense and glory the kingdom of God might be extended. On the other hand, when we pray that our daily bread be given to us, although we desire that which is for our advantage, however we ought to seek here primarily the glory of God, so that we are not going to ask at all unless it turns out to the glory of God.[1]

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[1] This is in line with Augustine's teaching. Cf., *Enchiridion,* CXV, "Proinde apud evangelistam Matthaeum septem petitiones continere dominica videntur oratio: quarum tribus aeterna poscuntur, reliquis quatuor, temporalia, quae tamen propter aeterna consequenda sunt necessaria." (PL 40, 285).

OUR FATHER WHO ART IN HEAVEN

In the first place, it occurs at the very beginning, what we said before, we ought to offer every prayer to God in Christ's name, as they cannot be made acceptable to him in any other name. For by calling God, Father, we certainly plead the name of Christ before him. For with what confidence could anyone name God Father, who could rush headlong to that extreme temerity as to usurp to himself the honour of the Son of God, unless in Christ we have been adopted as sons of grace? He, since he is the true Son, was given by him to us as a brother, so that what he has uniquely by nature may become ours by the benefit of adoption, if we only receive such generosity with a firm faith. As John says, "power has been given to those who believe in the name of the only-begotten Son of God, so that they also may become the very children of God" (John 1:12). And so he both calls himself our Father, and he wills to be so called by us. By the great (176) suavity of this name[2] he takes away from all distrust, since there cannot be found anywhere any greater affection of love than in a Father. But his love toward us is just as much greater and more excellent than all the love of our parents, as he surpasses all men in goodness and mercy. If, for example, however many parents are in the earth, having lost all feeling of paternal piety should disown their children, "he would never fail us, since he cannot deny himself"[1] (2 Timothy 2)[2] For we have his promise, "If you, since you are evil, know how to give good things to your children, how much more your Father who is heaven!" (Matthew 7:11). If we are his sons, as a son cannot flee to the faithful protection of a stranger or foreigner, unless at the same time he complains either of the cruelty or poverty of his own father, so we cannot seek assistance from any other than him, unless we have reproached him with indigence and poverty of powers or with cruelty and excessive harshness. Neither let us pretend that we rightly have cause to be timid because of the consciousness of our sins, as if they would have made the Father angry with us, although he is exceedingly good and kind. For among men as a son can plead his own case in the presence of his father better than any advocate, and as a son can acquire for himself the lost favour of a father better than any mediator, if he himself, suppliant and humble and recognizing his fault, implores the mercy of his father (for the bowels of the father cannot dissimulate them- (177) selves to the point of not being moved by such prayer). Now what will "the Father of mercies and the God of all consolation do?" (2 Corinthians 1:3). Will he not rather hear the tears and groanings of his sons who implore earnestly for themselves all the more (since he invites them and urges them precisely to do this)* rather than the intercessions of any others? They seek refuge in the help of others, precisely because they doubt concerning the kindness and clemency of their own father. He paints and represents for us a parable in this exhuberance of paternal loving kindness, where a father embraces with open arms a son who had estranged himself from him, who had carelessly wasted his property, who had grievously sinned against him; neither does the father wait until the son asks pardon with words, but he himself anticipates him, he recognizes from a distance the one who returns, he runs spontaneously to him, he comforts him and receives him into favour (Luke 15:11-20). For by proposing to our view an example of such kindness in man he intended to teach us that we should expect a much more abundant compassion from God, not simply from a father, but from the best by far and the most merciful of all fathers. We should expect this, although we are ungrateful, rebellious and depraved sons, if we only throw ourselves on his mercy.

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[1] This emphasis on the glory of God is most apparent in the writings of Martin Bucer. Cf. "...nemo absolute orare debet, nisi certus sit, ea impetralia, ad gloriam Dei factura..." his Enarrationes, p. 83.

[2] Cf. the hymn attributed to Bernard of Clairvaux, "Jesu Dulcis Memoria," in Hortus Conclusus, VII, (Washington: Stephen A. Hurlbut), 1932, p. 20; and Bernard's Sermon, I In Canticum Salomonis, (P.L. 134, 13).

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[1] Psalm 27:10.

[2] Omitted by C.R. and Barth. The quotations is a mistake. Calvin may have had in mind 2 Timothy 3:2.

And to the end that he might make our faith more secure that he is this kind of a Father even to us (if we are Christians)* he willed to be called not only Father, but expressly Our Father: as if we should address him in this way: Father, thou art provided with such kindness for thy children, with so much readiness to (178) forgive, we thy children mention thy name and call upon thee, securely and entirely persuaded that thou hast no other feeling toward us than a paternal one, although we are unworthy of such a Father. But since we are not taught thus, that each one should call him his own particular Father, but rather that we should call him "Ours" in common, we are hereby admonished how great the feeling of fraternal love must exist between us who are the common sons of such a Father. For if we have one common Father,[1] from whom proceeds entirely whatever good can happen to us, there ought to be nothing separately among us, which we are not ready with great alacrity of mind to share the one with the other, as far as the need demands it. Now, if we so desire, as we ought to do, to stretch forth our hand and to help each other, there is no way in which we can better serve our brothers than to commend them to the care and providence of the best Father, since nothing more can be desired, if he be propitious and favourable. And this very thing we indeed owe to our Father. For as he who truly and from the heart loves any head of family at the same time embraces the entire household with his love and goodwill, in the same way we should have devotion and feeling for this heavenly Father, so that we display it toward his (179) people, his family, and finally toward his inheritance which he has honoured so much that he called it the fulness of his only-begotten Son (Ephesians 1:23). Therefore, it is necessary that the prayer of a Christian man should be measured by this law, so that it might be general and embrace all who are his brothers in Christ; and not only those whom he sees and knows at the present as such, but all men who live on the earth. Of these men we do not know whom the Lord has established, but we ought to expect and desire the best things for them. Notwithstanding, in comparison with these, we ought to be inclined with a certain special feeling for those who are in the household of faith, whom the apostle (Galatians 6:10) has recommended particularly to us in every way. In short, all our prayers ought to be in such a way that they have regard to that community which our Lord has constituted into his kingdom and household. But neither does that hinder that we should be allowed to pray especially for ourselves and for certain other persons, but only that our mind should not depart or turn aside from the contemplation of this community, but should relate all things to it. For though these prayers are conceived singly, yet since they are directed to this end, they do not cease to be common. All this can easily be understood by means of a comparison. The command of God about relieving the indigence of all the poor is a general command, and yet those ~~who~~ obey the command, who to this end succour the indigence of those whom they see and (180) know to be in trouble, even though they pass many by who are pressed by a greater need, either because they do not know everybody, or because they cannot provide for all. In this way those do not oppose the will of God who, regarding and considering the common society of the Church, conceive this kind of particular prayers in which, with a public spirit but in particular words, they commend to God themselves or others whose indigence he willed to be brought more closely to their attention. Although in prayer and in the giving of our substance all circumstances are not alike, for the kindness of giving liberally cannot be exercised except toward those whose indigence has been perceived by us, nevertheless, one is at liberty to help by prayer even the most distant and most obscure persons, however great be the distance that separates us from them on earth. But this happens through the general formula of the prayer in which all the children of God are included, and among those they also are.

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[1] Cf. Matthew 23:9.

It is also added that he is in heaven. From this statement it is not to be immediately concluded that he is enclosed and circumscribed by the circumference of heaven, as it were, fettered by certain bounderies. For Solomon also confesses (1 Kings 8:27) "The heaven of heavens cannot contain him." And God says through the prophet (Isaiah 66:1) that "heaven is his seat, and the earth is the stool for his feet." (Acts 7:49, 17:24). By this, of course, he certainly does not mean that he is limited to any region, but that he is diffused through everything. But since, on the other side, our mind, on (181) account of its density, cannot grasp his indescribable glory, it has been designated for us as heaven, to the end that nothing more lofty or more majestic can come under our sight. Wherefore, this is as if he had said that he is powerful, sublime and incomprehensible.[1] Therefore, when we hear this, our thought must be lifted to a higher plane when God is mentioned, so that we do not dream anything carnal about him or judge him by our mediocre standards or measure his will according to our feeling.

THE FIRST PETITION

HALLOWED BE THY NAME

His power is indicated in this place by the name of God. This power consists in all his virtues, as for example, his might, wisdom, justice, mercy and truth;

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[1] This passage is important, since it indicates Calvin's use of symbolism.

for in this name God is great and admirable, since he is just, wise, merciful, powerful, truthful, etc. Therefore, we pray that this majesty should be hallowed in these virtues, not in God himself, who can neither increase nor decrease at all in himself, but that his majesty be held by all as holy, that is, that it be truly acknowledged and magnified. And whatever God does, let all his works appear glorious, as they are. So that whether he punishes, he is righteous; whether he pardons, he is merciful; whether he accomplishes what he has promised, (182) he is proclaimed to be truthful. There should not be anything at all in which his glory, engraved as it were, does not shine, and thus in every mind, in every tongue, they should loudly proclaim his praises. Finally, that all the impiety which pollutes and profanes this holy name, that is, which obscures or diminishes this sanctification, should perish and be confounded; in which confusion the majesty of God is even celebrated more and more. And in this way, thanksgiving is connected with this petition. For at the same time that we pray that the name of God should be hallowed everywhere, we attributed to him praise for all that is good, we reckon that we have received all things from him, and recognize his benefits toward us.

THE SECOND PETITION

THY KINGDOM COME

This is the kingdom of God that he leads and governs his own by his Holy Spirit to the end that he might make manifest in all his works the riches of his goodness and mercy; again, that the reprobates who do not acknowledge him as God and Lord, who refuse to be subject to his dominion, he destroys and rejects, and casts down their sacrilegious arrogance, that it might be manifest that there is no power which can resist his power. But not only do these things happen daily before our eyes, but (183) also his word, erected like a scepter, flourishes, reigns, prospers, gives its fruit, even under the cross and contempt and ignominy of the world. One must see that the kingdom of God flowers also in this world (1 Corinthians 1:21; John 17:14, 18:36; Romans 14:17): first because it is spiritual and consists of spiritual things; second, because it is incorruptible and eternal (Luke 1:33; Daniel 7:14).

And so we pray that the kingdom of God may come, that is, that the Lord may day after day multiply a new people of the faithful for himself, who would make known his glory in every way, by which he might live and reign in them day after day more and more, until, being perfectly joined to him, he satiates them: at the same time, in order that he might cause his light and truth to shine with new power, by means of which the darkness and lies of satan and his kingdom may vanish away, be scattered, extinguished and perish. But as long as we pray in this way that the kingdom may come, we at the same time desire that at last it may be perfected and completed, namely, in the revelation of his judgment, in which day he alone will be exalted, and will be all in all, when his own have been gathered together and received into glory, and when the kingdom of satan has been completely cast down and overthrown (1 Corinthians 15:28).

(184) THE THIRD PETITION

THY WILL BE DONE, ON EARTH AS IT IS IN HEAVEN

In this petition we ask, as in heaven so on earth, that is, everywhere, God should regulate and arrange everything according to his will, that he should govern all the consequences of ~~time~~ things, that he should employ all his creatures according to his judgment, so that he might subject to himself the wills of all, so that they might equally obey his will, some spontaneously, as for example his own, others, unwilling and reluctant, as the devil and the reprobates who disparage and evade his dominion and attempt to withdraw secretly from his obedience. And when we, indeed, pray this petition, we renounce all our desires, whatever is in us, and we resign and surrender our feelings to the Lord, praying that he will not let things flow to us according to our desire, but that he will make things happen in the way that he himself has foreseen and decreed. But neither do we pray for that alone, that God should make our desires which are adverse to his will empty and void, but rather that God should create in us new minds and hearts after the old ones have been destroyed (Ezekiel 36:26), so that no movement of desire may be felt in us, except a pure agreement with his will. In short, we should not will anything from ourselves, but that his Spirit may will in us, so that by this inner teaching we may learn to (185) love those things which are pleasing to him, and to hate and abominate whatever things displease him.

These are the first three divisions of the prayer, In these petitions it is fitting that we have before our eyes the glory of God alone, having given up our point of view, and having no regard for any utility of our own. Although abundant advantage turns out for us from there, nevertheless, we must seek it in this place. All these things, although it is nevertheless necessary that they happen in his time, without us thinking about them, desiring them, or requiring them, must be, however, desired and required by us.[1] And to do this is most worth while, as we thus testify and confess that we are sons and servants of God and serve, as much as we can, his honour (which is owed to the Lord and to the Father). And so those who do not pray with this desire and zeal for the promotion of the glory of God, that the name of

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[1] Calvin affirms that the first three petitions of the Lord's Prayer will be fulfilled, whether we pray for their fulfillment, or not, since these things are willed by God. Aquinas, however, shows that prayers are essential, since they were instituted by God as a cause. Cf. *Summa*, II-II, Q. 83, Art. 2.

God be hallowed, that his kingdom come, that his will be done, these are not to be considered as among the children and servants of God. And as all these things will happen against their will, they will thus turn out for their confusion and judgment.

THE FOURTH PETITION

This is the first of the three petitions by which we ask from particularly those things which are for our good and which help in our need.

(186) GIVE US TODAY OUR DAILY[1] BREAD

In this petition we ask from God in general all the things which are necessary for the use of the body under the elements of this world,[2] not only that we may be fed and clothed, but also whatever he foresees to be of use to us, so that we may eat our bread in peace. In this petition, to state it briefly, we give ourselves over to his care and commit ourselves to his providence, so that he may feed us, care for us, and preserve us. For this most kind Father does not disdain to receive even our body into his trust and keeping, so that he might exercise our faith in these minute things while we expect from him all things, even to a crumb of bread and a drop of water. For since it was by, I know not what iniquity of ours, that we are more influenced and tormented by anxiety for the body than for the soul, many who dare to trust in God as regards the soul are, however, still anxious about the body, still worry about what they should eat or wear, and if they do not have plenty of wine, grain and oil beforehand tremble with fear. For so many of us the shadow of this momentary life is more important than that eternal immortality. But those who have trusted in God cast away once and for all that anxious care for the body; at the same time they immediately expect from God those things which are of greater import, even salvation and (187) eternal life. Therefore it is not a mean exercise of faith to expect those things from God which in other

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[1] Jerome, in his *Commentaria in Evangelium Matthaei*, I, vi (P.L. 26, 44), affirms that the word ἐπιούσιος means supersubstantialem. This translation passed over into the Matthean text of the Vulgate, although the Lucan text has *quotidianum*. Augustine, however, in his *De Sermone Domini in Monte* (P.L. 34, 1280), after giving three possible interpretations of the Word, namely, "Panis quotidianum... quae huius vitae necessitatem sustenant:::De Sacramento autem corporis Domini:::Restat igitur ut quotidianum panem accipiamus spiritualem. praecepta scilicet divina..," decides in favour of the last meaning, namely, that the daily bread is the divine precept which Christians ought to meditate upon and labour after. On the other hand, the unknown author of the *Opus Imperfectum in Mattheum* interprets the petition literally (P.G. 56, 713). Abelard, in a letter to Bernard of Clairvaux, defends the nuns at the convent of the Paraclete for saying "quotidianum" in reciting the Lord's Prayer. Cf. his *Epistola* X (P.L. 178, 335f.) Erasmus in the 1527 and 1530 editions of his New Testament has *quotidianum*. Luther in his *Der Kleine Katechismus*, 1529, translates "täglich brot gib uns heute." (Werke 30.i. p. 303). Modern Roman Catholic scholars translate ἐπιούσιος by "daily." Cf. M.J. Lagrange, *Evangile selon Saint Matthieu*, (Paris: Librairie Victor Lecoffre), 1923. p. 129f. See also the recent translation from the Latin Vulgate, made by Catholic scholars where the text reads, "Give us this day our daily bread."

The New Testament, Confraternity of Christian Doctrine edition, (Paterson: St. Anthony Guild Press) 1941, p. 18.

2. Galatians 4:3

respects keep us so anxious; nor has too little ground been gained when we lay aside this infidelity which adheres with teeth to the bones of almost all men (Matthew 6:25-33). And so we ask bread from our Father.

Further, because we say "daily" and "today," we are taught that we should not be inflamed with excessive cupidity for these changeable things, which we afterwards selfishly squander in pleasure, in ostentation, or in another kind of luxury. But we must ask only what is sufficient for our needs and, as it were, for the day, with this definite trust, that our Father, if he has nourished us today, will not fail us tomorrow. Therefore, howsoever great the abundance of things we possess, even if our barns were filled and our storehouses full, nevertheless, it would always be fitting to ask for our daily bread. We think in this way: that all our property is nothing, except in so far as the Lord prospers and fructifies it with the outpouring of his benediction; and our property is in our own hands, not, indeed, that it is ours, except in so far as he gives it to us in small portions hour by hour and permits us to use it. But those who are not content with their daily bread but, unrestrained in their cupidity, pant after countless things, or those who are saturated with their abundance and secure in their pile of riches, still pray to God (188) with this prayer, do nothing else than laugh at him. For the first group ask what they do not wish to obtain, yes, what they abominate most of all, to wit, each day nothing more than bread. They hide as far as they can the feeling of their avarice from God, since true prayer ought to pour forth before him all its mind and whatever is hidden within. But the other group ask what they least expect from him, namely, what they think they have in their power. In that bread which is called "ours" the kindness of God is still more conspicuous, which makes ours what is not for any reason owed to us (Deuteronomy 8:11-18). That we ask that it be given to us means that it is a straighforward and gratuitous gift of God whencesoever it comes to us, even when it most of all appears to have been obtained by our art and industry and provided by our own hands.

THE FIFTH PETITION

FORGIVE US OUR DEBTS, AS WE ALSO FORGIVE OUR DEBTORS.

In this petition we ask that the remission of sins be awarded to us, which is necessary to all men without any exception (Romans 3:23-24). And we call sins debts[1] because we owe the penalty or payment of them to God, and we cannot make satisfaction in any way, unless we are freed by this remission. This is the free pardon
(189) of his mercy, since he himself freely blots out these debts and releases us from them, not receiving any price from us, but by his own mercy offering satisfaction to

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[1] Cf. Anselm "Non est itaque aliud peccare quam Deo non reddere debitum" Cur Deus Homo, cap. XI. (P.L. 158, 376).

himself in Christ, who delivered himself once and for all to the Father as a compensation.[1] And so those who trust that they give satisfaction to God either by their own or by another's merits, and that with these satisfactions the remission of sins is repaid and bought, do not share at all in this free remission. And while they call upon God in this manner, they do nothing else than suscribe to their own accusation and seal their condemnation by their own witness. For they confess themselves debtors, unless they be released by the favour of remission which, however, they do not receive, but, rather, reject it, while they obtrude their own merits and satisfactions on God. For in this way they do not implore his mercy but appeal to his righteousness.

Finally, we pray that we may be forgiven as we forgive our debtors, that is, as we forgive them and award pardon to those by whom we are in any way offended, either being unfairly treated in a deed or abusively treated in word. It is not within our power to pardon them the errors of their offenses and crime, because this belongs to God alone (Isaiah 43:25); but this is our forgiveness: to put away voluntarily from our mind wrath, hatred, and the desire for vengeance, and to destroy in voluntary oblivion the memory of the injuries. Wherefore, we
(190) must not ask forgiveness of sins from God, unless we

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[1] Romans 3:24.

ourselves also forgive all offenses against us of those who either are or were unjust to us. But if we retain any hatred in our minds, meditate on revenge, if we devise a favourable opportunity to harm people, yes, indeed, if we do not strive to return to friendship with our enemies, and to oblige them with all kinds of services, and to reconcile them to us, with such prayer we implore God that he should not give us pardon of sin. For we ask that he do to us what we do to them. Surely this is to pray that he should not do to us, unless we ourselves have done likewise to others. Therefore, those who are of this kind, what do they obtain with their petition except serious judgment? Finally, we must observe that this condition, that he forgives us as we forgive our debtors, is not added because by forgiving others we merit forgiveness, but with this word the Lord only wills to comfort the weakness of our faith. For he added this as if it were a sign by which we might be assured that he as certainly has granted us the remission of sins, as we surely know in our conscience that we have granted it to them, provided that our mind is empty and clean of all hatred, envy, and revenge. Besides, as it were with this sign he has blotted out from the number of his children those who are hasty for revenge, slow to (191) forgive, who diligently cultivate inveterate enmities, and the wrath which they wish to avert by entreaty to God they themselves cherish against others, lest they dare to invoke him as Father.

THE SIXTH PETITION

DO NOT LEAD US INTO TEMPTATION, BUT DELIVER US FROM THE EVIL ONE.[1]

Many and various are the forms of temptation. For all depraved conceptions of the mind, provoking us to transgressions of the law, which either our concupiscence suggests to us or the devil awakens in us, are temptations. (James 1:2-15; Matthew 4:1-10; 1 Thessalonians 3:5)[2] And the things which are not in themselves evil by nature, still become temptations by the art of the devil when they are forced before our eyes, so that by their interposition we are either estranged or turn away from God. And those temptations are either from the right or from the left. From the right, as for example, riches, power, honours, which for the most part by their brightness and appearance of good which they present dazzle men's eyes and entice them with their caresses, so that, seized by such illusions, drunken with such sweetness, they completely forget God. From the left, such as poverty, infamies, contempt, afflictions, and the rest of this kind, injured by their bitterness and harshness, they lose courage, they cast away their trust and hope and, finally, they are completely alienated from God. We pray to God our Father that he would not permit us to yield to these temptations which assail (192) us, which are either inflamed in us by our concupiscence or proposed to us by the cunning of satan, but rather to sustain and raise us up by his hand, that strengthened by his power we can stand firm against all the assaults of the evil enemy and whatever thoughts he may send into our minds. And whatever is proposed to us from either side we may convert into good, that is, that we neither be puffed up on account of prosperity nor be cast down because of misfortune. But neither do we ask here that we should not undergo any temptations at all, by which it is exceedingly necessary to be provoked, pricked and pinched, lest we, being too inactive, should become immovable (James 1:2). For not without reason David (Psalm 26:2) chose to be "tempted,"[1] nor without cause does the Lord daily[2] "tempt" his elect, chastizing them by means of ignominy, poverty, tribulation and other forms of the cross (Genesis 22:1; Deuteronomy 8:2, 13:3). But God "tempts" one way; satan another: satan that he may destroy, condemn, confound and ruin; but God that he may test and exercise his own, that he may mortify, refine, and cauterize their flesh. If their flesh is not curbed in this way, it would be wanton and leap up violently out of control. Besides, satan attacks the unarmed and unprepared in order to oppress the careless; "God, together with the temptation, grants a happy end so that his own can endure patiently whatever he sends them" (1 Corinthians 10:13; 2 Peter 2:9).

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[1] "a maligno" may be translated "from the evil thing," or "from the evil one," to wit, the devil. From Calvin's own exposition of the petition it is clear that he has in mind the devil. Still, three years later he wrote, "Maligni nomine Diabolum an peccatum intelligamus quam minimum refert." Barth, IV, 363.

[2] Barth follows the editors of the C.R. (C.R. 29,97) in separating these texts as follows: James 1 is in the place it occupies in this translation. Matthew 4 and 1 Thessalonians 3, however, are found after the word "God," at the end of the next sentence. In the _editio princeps_ they are found as in this translation.

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[1] 1. The quotation marks on this page have been added by the translator. In each case Calvin used the verb, "tento."

[2] 2. Barth incorrectly reads "quotide." The editio princeps and C.R. have "quotidie."

Our petition, therefore, is this: not that we may
(193) be overcome and overwhelmed by any temptations, but
that by the power of the Lord we may stand strong against
all adverse powers which attack us, which is, not to succumb
to temptation; that being received into his care and
faithful protection and secure in his protection, we
stand invincible over sin, death, the gates of hell, and
the entire kingdom of the devil, that is, to be delivered
from the evil one. Wherein it must be diligently noted
that we do not possess the powers to contend with such
a warrior as the devil, nor to endure his power and
violence. Otherwise, we would ask from God in vain and
in derision what we already possess. Certainly those
who prepare themselves for such a fight with trust in themselves, do not sufficiently understand with what a pugnatious and instructed enemy they have to do. Now we pray

that we may be freed from his power as if from the mouth of some raging and mad lion which is about to tear us to pieces on the spot with his teeth and claws and to swallow up with his jaws, unless the Lord snatches us away from the midst of death.[1] Still we know this at the same time, that if the Lord shall be present and fight for us, we being silent, in his power we shall have power.[2] Others may trust as they will in their own free will and in their powers which they have in themselves; it is sufficient for us that we stand and are strong in the power of God alone.

These three petitions in which we particularly commend to God ourselves and our affairs clearly manifest (194) what we said before, namely, that the prayers of Christians should be public and regard the public edification of the Church and the progress of the communion of the faithful. For no one asks as in private life that anything should be given to himself, but we all pray in common for "our" bread, the remission of sins, that we should not be led into temptation, that we might be freed from the evil one. Besides, the reason is appended why we should have so much boldness in asking and so much confidence that we are going to get what we asked for.

FOR THINE IS THE KINGDOM AND THE POWER AND THE GLORY, WORLD WITHOUT END.[3]

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[1] 1 Peter 5:8

[2] Psalm 60:12.

[3] This doxology is not in the Vulgate. It is found in the Opus Imperfectum in Matthaeum, but the wording

This, this is the solid and tranquil rest of our faith. For if our prayers had been committed to God on account of our dignity, who would dare to even utter a word before God. Now, however miserable we may be, however most unworthy of all men, however devoid of every recommendation, yet we shall never want a reason for prayer and never be destitute of confidence, since our Father cannot have his kingdom, power or glory taken away. At the end is added, Amen: by which the ardour of our desire is expressed to obtain those things which we have asked from God, and our hope is made strong that all these things have already been obtained and shall certainly be given to us, since they were promised by God[1] who cannot fail.

(195) Whatever we ought to ask from God, as well as what we may ask from him, we have recorded in this form and, as it were, rule of prayer, which was delivered unto us by our excellent master, Christ, whom the Father gave us as a teacher, to whom he has willed that we should listen and hear (Matthew 17:5). For he ever was his eternal

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is not the same (P.G. 56, 714). It is also in the Greek and Latin texts of Erasmus' *Greek New Testament*. In the 1516 edition it is printed in the same type as the rest of the work. In the 1527 edition it is printed in smaller type.

[1] Luther, "Amen. Haec vox ideo addita est, ut certissimus sim hanc meam orationem acceptam et exauditam esse a patre meo in coelis. Ipse enim mandavit, ut oraremus, et mandato simul promissionem addidit, fore ut nos exaudit..." *Der Kleine Katechismus* (*Werke*, 30, i. 308).

wisdom; and being made man, was given to men as an "angel" of great counsel (Isaiah 9:6).[1] And, therefore, the number of petitions in this prayer is complete, so that whatever addition is made of anything extraneous or foreign, not capable of being referred to it, it is impious and unworthy to be granted by God.[2] For in this summary he has prescribed what is worthy of him, what is acceptable to him, what is necessary for us, and, finally, what he wills to grant. Those, therefore, who dare to go beyond this and to demand something more than these things from God, in the first place, wish to add from their own to the wisdom of God (which cannot be done without insane blasphemy);[3] then, they do not keep themselves under the will of God, but despising it, wander much further away because of their own cupidity; finally, they shall never receive anything, since they pray without faith. And there is no doubt that all such prayers are made without faith, since here the word of God is lacking. Unless faith always leans upon it, it cannot stand at all. But these men not only lack the

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[1] Calvin could also have quoted Isaiah 11:2.

[2] For the same idea, see Augustine, *Epistola* 130, 12, 22ff "Nihil aliud dicimus quam quod in ista dominica oratione positum est, si recte et congruenter oramus. Quisquis autem id dicit quod ad istam evangelicam precem pertinere non possit, etiamsi non illicite erat, carnaliter orat...nihil invenies quod in ista dominica non contineatur et concludatur oratione." (P.L. 33, 502ff)..

[3] The brackets are omitted in C.R. and Barth.

(196) word of God, they also, as far as they can with their endeavour, oppose it. We do not wish to be understood here to mean that we are confined to this formula of prayer, without the liberty of changing a word or a syllable. For many prayers are frequently read in the Scriptures with words very different from these, still, they were composed in the same Spirit, and their use is very profitable to us. We only do this: teaching that no one should seek, expect, or do anything at all, except what is summarily comprehend in this prayer, though there may be a diversity of expression without any variation of meaning. It is certain that in this way all the prayers which are contained in the Scriptures are referred to it. Indeed, one cannot ever find any prayer which can equal the perfection of this one, much less surpass it. Nothing has been omitted here which ought to be thought for the praises of God, nothing which ought to come to man's mind for his own advantage. And so exact is this prayer that with reason the hope of trying something better has been taken away from all. In short, let us remember that this is the teaching of divine wisdom. God taught what he willed ; and he willed what was necessary.

But, although it has already been said above that one must always aspire with uplifted hearts for God, and pray without ceasing, nevertheless, since our weakness is such that it has to be supported with many aids, and our

indolence is such that it has need to be aroused by
stimuli, it is fitting that each one of us should arrange
(197) for himself definite hours for this exercise, hours which
should not pass without prayer, during which the entire
disposition of the mind should be completely occupied,
namely, when we arise in the morning, before we begin
the work of the day, when we sit down to eat, when we
have eaten with the blessing of God, when we prepare
ourselves for rest. This must not be a superstitious
observance of hours, by which, as if discharging our
debt to God, we may fancy ourselves discharged from
observing the other hours;[1] but a discipline for our
weakness which is thus exercised and continually stimulated.
In particular it must be our anxious care that as often
as we are pressed by any adversity, or see others oppressed,
that we immediately return to God, not with speedy feet,
but with quick hearts. Then, we should not allow either
our prosperity or that of others to pass without testifying
our acknowledgment of his hand with praise and thanksgiving.

Finally, this must be diligently observed in all prayer, that we do not wish to fetter God with certain conditions, nor to prescribe to him in what time, place, or way the prayer has to be granted. Just as we are taught by this prayer not to fix any law on him or to impose any condition, but to leave it to his will, so that those things which he will do, he may do in what manner, and when and where it pleases him. Besides, before we say any prayer for ourselves, we mention (198) beforehand, that his will may be done; wherein we already subject our will to his. By this means, held as it were with a taut bridle, our will does not presume to regulate God, but to establish him as judge and mediator of all its desires. If, with minds composed to this obedience, we allow ourselves to be governed by the laws of divine providence, we shall easily learn to persevere in prayer, and with suspended desires to wait patiently for the Lord, assured, that even if he should not appear at all, that he, nevertheless, is always with us, and that he will be revealed in his own time, and that he does not have his ears closed to the prayers which seem disregarded in the sight of men. But this will be a very present consolation, that we should not fail or fall into despair, if at any time God does not answer our first prayer, as they are accustomed to do who, while they are only carried away by their ardour, call upon God in such a way that if he does not attend to their first impulses and bring them present help, they immediately feign wrath and bitterness toward him, and, having lost all hope of being heard, they cease to pray. Furthermore, let us not tempt God, and provoke him against us by wearying him with our dishonesty. This is the custom of many who do not bargain with God except with certain conditions, and, as if he were a slave of their own cupidity, they bind him with laws (199) of their own stipulation; with which, unless he immediately complies, they are indignant, they grumble, they speak against him, they murmur, and they are in an uproar. To these he, full of wrath, often gives to them in his rage, that which to those to whom he is favourably inclined he denies in his mercy. We have the example of the children of Israel (Numbers 11:16-33) for whom it would have been better not to have been heard by the Lord than to swallow his indignation with their meat.[1] But if, after long waiting, our sense neither understands what advance we have made by praying, nor experience any fruit of it, yet our faith, which cannot be perceived by sense, will assure us that we have obtained what was asked. And so he will cause us to possess abundance in poverty, and consolation in affliction. For though all things fail, yet God will never forsake us; he cannot frustrate the expectation and patience of his people. He himself alone will be for us in the place of all things, since he embraces in himself every good, which hereafter he will reveal to us in the day of judgment, when he will manifest plainly

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[1] The view which Calvin is controverting is clearly expressed in the following passage: "Domine, in unione illius divinae intentionis qua ipse in terris laudes Deo persolvisti, has tibi Horas...persolvo." Brevarium Romanum, (New York: Benzinger Brothers, Inc.), 1945, p. 1.

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[1] "Carnibus" means quails.

PART THREE

AN EVALUATION OF CALVIN'S THEOLOGY

CHAPTER ONE

THE INFLUENCE OF CATHOLIC THEOLOGY ON CALVIN'S THEOLOGY

A cursory study of Calvin's theology in the first three chapters of the first edition of the Institutes indicates quite clearly that the French reformer remained within the broad stream of Christian theological thought. The first area in which this is apparent is in his acceptance of the trinitarium theology of the ecumenical creeds. The second area is that of his teaching about conscience. The third point at which this assertion may be proved is Calvin's use of the Apocrypha. The fourth is his treatment of the atonement. And the fifth area of agreement is his doctrine of the communicatio idiomatum. These elements will now be discussed in detail.

I Trinitarian Theology

Calvin's acceptance of the trinitarian theology of the ecumenical creeds may be illustrated by discussing the question from the vantage point of his controversy with Caroli. These words, "Pro gloria Dei, pro honore dominorum Bernensium, pro sinceritate fidei, pro unitate ecclesiae, pro tranquillitate publica, pro officii mei debito, habeo aliquid, venerandi domini, quod vobis exponam, quod diu tacui et dissimulavi. Nam multi concionatores tam Genevae quam in ditione vestra Ariana impietate infecti sunt,"[1] Peter Caroli[2] began one of the bitterest and most far reaching[1] controversies in Calvin's career; for Calvin was one of the subversives at Geneva.

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[1] Defensio Nicholai Gallasii...Adversus Petri Caroli Calumnias (C.R. 35, 308).

[2] C.R. says of Caroli, "vir vana ambitione agitatus,

There is no point in going into the history of this dispute. This has been done by Doumergue in his *Jean Calvin*. We are interested solely in Calvin's trinitarian theology.

His teachings in the *editio princeps* of the *Institutes* are explicit. He affirms that "the first three parts (He is speaking of the Apostles' Creed) are devoted to the three persons of the Holy Trinity, the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit, the One Eternal and Almighty God in whom we believe."[2] In support of this view, he first presents the testimony of Scripture. He finds that Scripture teaches the unity of God, and the fact that in this unity there are the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. To substantiate this position Calvin quotes a Pauline text which was cited by Jerome, Luculentius, Rabanus Maurus and Peter Lombard for the same purpose.[3]

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opinionibus inconstans, moribus levis." (C.R. 35, xxx). Doumergue is a little less caustic. He writes, "Malheureusement son caractere n'etait pas a la hauter de son intelligence, et ei les nouvelles idees le seduisirent, elles ne le transformerent pas." (*Jean Calvin*, II, p. 252)

[1] Granted that the line of argument, if...then, is not at all conclusive, it is still true to say that if Calvin had not been accused of Arianism at this time, he would not have been so intent upon bringing about the condemnation of Servetus.

[2] *Vide*, *supra*, p. 146.

[3] *Ibid*.

Having emphasized the unity of God, Calvin then goes on to affirm that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three personal distinctions (personem distinctionem) in the Godhead.[1] Again, he finds both in the Old and New Testaments passages which affirm the personal distinctions in the One Eternal God. Calvin is quite clear that by personal distinctions he does not mean divine attributes. Indeed, he castigates Servetus for teaching this idea. The reformer defines with precision the difference between the attributes of God and the persons of the Trinity. He affirms that the attributes declare what kind of a God the Almighty is, whereas the names, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, reveal the quiddity of God.[2] According to Calvin, then, the very nature of God is Father, Son, and Holy Spirit. In other terms, God in himself is a Trinity.

After presenting the teachings of Scripture, Calvin passes on to the evidence from patristic sources. He refers to the "orthodox doctors of old" who spoke of one *οὐσία* and three *ὑποστάσεις*. It is probable that he had in mind the Nicene Creed, in which these terms are employed.[3] Indeed, in his presentation of patristic evidence he simply summarizes the trinitarian decisions of the early Church.

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[1] Calvin also speaks of *tres proprietates* (*Supra*, p. 116). The term appears in the decree "De Trinitate" of the Fourth Council of Lateran in 1215, which reads in part: "Haec Santa Trinitas, secundum communem essentiam individua, et secundum personales proprietates discreta." (Denzinger, *Enchiridion*, p. 199) Calvin says of the properties, "Indeed, the Scripture distinguishes them in such a way that it attributes to the Father the principle of action, and the source and origin of all things; to the Son it assigns the wisdom and counsel in doing; and to the Spirit it refers power and the efficacy of action." (*Supra*, p. 116

[2] *Vide*, *Supra*, p. 152, f. n. 1.

[3] The terms also appear in Epiphanius' *Adversus Haereses* (P.G. 42), and in Gregory of Nyssa's *Quod Non Sint Tres Dii*, and in his *Sermo Adversus Arium et Sabellium* (P.G. 45). It is doubtful, however, Calvin had read these works ~~that~~ in 1534/5.

Servetus, agreeing with the semi-Arians of antiguity, argued that such terms should be rejected from theology since they were not biblical. Calvin, however, argued that they should be retained as a bulwark against heresy. Here again the reformer is clearly on the side of the Catholic tradition.

Having discussed the evidence from Scripture and tradition for the orthodox doctrine of the Trinity, Calvin then proceeds to evaluate the views of Arius and Sabellius. He affirms as regards the Arians that one small word, "consubstantial," distinguishes the true Christian from sacriligious Arians. It is clear that Calvin saw the crucial point involved in the Arian controversy. In his discussion of Sabellianism the reformer reveals his logical acumen. He shows that the point at issue is whether the persons of the Trinity belong to the _qualis_ or the _quis_ of God. For Calvin, of course, they belong to the latter.

This, then, is Calvin's doctrine of the Trinity, and _eo facto_ his Christology, in the 1536 edition of the _Institutes._ It is clear that he taught the orthodox doctrine of the ancient Church. There is no odor of Arianism in his work. One final reference is conclusive.

> "Arius confessed that Christ was God and that he was the Son of God, since he could not strive against the clear teaching of Scripture, or, as it were, rightly disregard it. Consequently, he feigned a certain agreement with it. But, at the same time he did not desist from prating that Christ was created and had had a beginning just as the rest of creation."[1]

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[1] _Vide_, _supra_. p. 157f.

There is, however, one sentence which if quoted out of context (This is the method par excellence of quoting used by certain controversialists) could be interpreted to teach a non-trinitarian view of God. The sentence is, "Would that the names (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) were buried."[1] But even if this passage were interpreted to mean that the names, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, were not important, this would not be Arianism. It would imply Sabellianism.

In view of the clear teaching of the first edition of the *Institutes*, anyone who lifted this passage from its context would have been a fool, and Caroli, whatever else he may have been, was no fool. On what basis, then, could Caroli have accused Calvin of Arianism?[2]

It may be asserted that Caroli's accusation was based on a later work of Calvin's, namely, his *Instruction et Confessione de Foy dont on use en l'Eglise de Genève*, published on April 27, 1537. The work is divided into two parts of unequal length. The first section deals with the Decalogue, the Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and occupies eighty seven pages of the entire one hundred and three of the book. The second part treats the Sacraments, the Ministers of the Church, Human Traditions, Excommunication and the Magistrates. These five topics are disposed of in sixteen pages.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 159

[2] Calvin, in a letter to Gryneus, a pastor at Basel, says that he was first impeached by Caroli for the heresy of Arianism, and then that of Sabellianism. Herminjard, IV, p. 240.

Calvin's discussion of the Trinity is found, as in the Institutes, in the section *Le Simbole de la Foy*. Inasmuch as this work has not been translated into English, and does not appear in any part of this work, the relevant passage will be quoted in full.

> "But, in order that what we ourselves confess to believe in the Father, Son and Holy Spirit should not trouble anyone, we must needs first of all speak a little about it. When we name the Father, Son and Holy Spirit, we do by no means imagine three gods; but the Scripture and experience itself of piety show us in the most simple essence of God, the Father, his Son and his Holy Spirit. So that our intelligence cannot conceive the Father, except as it comprehends the Son in whom his living image shines, and the Spirit in whom appears his power and virtue. Therefore, let us stop, having all the thoughts of our heart fastened in one God alone. Nevertheless, in the meanwhile, let us contemplate the Father with his Son and his Spirit."[1]

In another place he writes,

> "Besides that, he is called Son of God, not like the faithful, by adoption and grace, but true and natural and therefore, sole and unique, so as to be distinguished from the others...And he is our Lord, not only according to his divinity which from all eternity he has had in common with the Father..."[2]

The first point to note in these extracts is that Calvin did not employ the technical terminology which he used in the Institutes. The terms *ὁμοούσιος*, *consubstantialis*, *οὐσία* and *ὑπόστασις* do not appear. This fact, however, is not strange. The work was written, not as a textbook of theology, nor as an erudite apology, but as a simple statement of faith. The second point to be observed is that Calvin did not use the term Trinity. The third point to be noted is that the reformer did not employ the vocable, persons, when speaking of the Father, Son and Holy Spirit. It may be concluded, then, that in this work Calvin limited himself to scriptural categories, and speaks only of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

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[1] "Mais affin que ce que nous nous confessons croyre au Père, Filz et Saint Esperit, ne trouble personne, il en fault premièrement un pue parler. Quand nous nommons le Père, Filz et Saint Esperit, nous ne nous imaginons point trois Dieux, mais l'Escripture et l'expérience mesme de piété nous monstre en la trèssimple essence de Dieu, le Père son Filz et son Esperit. Tellement que nostre intelligence ne peult concevoir le Père, que pareillement elle ne comprene la Filz auquel sa vive image reluist, et Esperit auquel apparoist sa puisance et vertu. Doncques arrestons nos fichez de toute la pensée de nostre coeur en un seul Dieu toutesfois cependant tentemplans le Père avec le Filz et son Esperit." (C.R. 50, 52).

[2] "Oultre cela, il est dict Filz de Dieu, non pas comme les fidèles par adoption et grace seulement, mais vray et natural, at pourtant seul et unique, affin qu'il soit discerne de oultres... Et il est nostre Seigneur, non pas seulement selon sa divinité, laquelle de toute éternité il a eu une avec le Père..." (*Ibid*, c.53).

It is also equally clear that Calvin rejected any kind of adoptionism. Christ is "Filz de Dieu, non pas comme les fidèles par adoption et grace seulement, mais vray et natural, et pourtant seul et unique." Furthermore, Calvin repudiates any kind of Arianism. Speaking of our Lord, he says: "Et il est nostre Seigneur, non pas seulement sa divinité, laquelle de toute éternité il a eu une avec le Père..."

It may be well to listen to Calvin's own exegesis of this catechism. A few months after Caroli's attack, he wrote to his friend, Gryneus, the following:

> "Our catechism was written a little before this time, and published in French. In this we testified, that the Father, Son and Spirit, were embraced in the one essence of God; and we so distinguished the one from the other, as to leave no room for perverse suspicions. We taught, for instance, that Christ was the true and Natural Son of God, who had possessed one divinity with the Father from eternity; that in the appointed time, he had taken our flesh for our redemption."[1]

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[1] Conscriptus enim aliquanto ante catechismus a nobis

For Calvin, then, the catechism was explicit in its teaching that there is one God, in which the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are distinguished the one from the other.

In the light of the evidence, it is clear that Caroli's charge was false. Calvin was not an Arian or Sabellianist. In the Institutes he accepts and advocates the traditional terminology as regards the deity of Christ, and the persons of the Trinity. It is eo facto equally clear that he rejected the heresies condemned by the ancient Church. Indeed, in the Institutes he rejects by name Arianism and Sabellianism. In the French Catechism of 1537 there is no evidence that leads the student to believe that Calvin did not mean what he wrote in the first edition of the Institutes. It is true that in this catechism Calvin only used biblical categories. This, however, is to be expected in a work which was composed for laymen.

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fuerat, Gallice etiam editus, ubi sub una Dei essentia nos Patrem, Filium et Spiritum complecti testabamur; alteram tamen ab altero sic distinguebamus, ne quis sinistrae suspicioni locus relinqueretur. Christum nempe docebamus verum et naturalem esse Dei Filium, qui unam cum Patre divinitatem ab aeterno possedisset, carnem nostram suscepisset, secundum tempus redemtioni nostrae destinatum." Herminjard, IV, p.240.

The question which naturally arises here, but which is not an integral part of the subject matter of this chapter, is, How can we explain the fact that Caroli accused Calvin of Arianism and Sabellianism? The occasion of the charge was the impeachment of Caroli by the pastors of Geneva for advocating prayers for the departed. At first sight it might appear that Caroli, unable to deny the accusation, resorted to the ancient technique of an argumentum ad hominem. Although there may be something of this in Caroli' attack, it is clear that he felt that he was justified in calling Calvin an Arian. There are two probable reasons for this accusation. The first of these is linked to the principle of guilt by association. One of Calvin's friends at Geneva was William Farel. A number of years before the event under consideration, Farel had written a summary of Christian

We may conclude, then, that Calvin's Christology and Trinitarian theology in this first edition of the Institutes

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doctrine, in which he made no mention of the Trinity. In Chapter One, De Dieu, he quotes John 3:16, and further affirms that in Jesus Christ we know the true God (Le Sommaire de Guillaume Farel, reimprime d'apres edition de l'an 1534 par J. C. Baum, (Geneva: Fick), 1867, p. 8). But Arius would have made the same confession. And the same may be said for Sabellius. In Chapter Three, "De Jesuchrist," Farel speaks of "Jesuchrist, vray filz de Dieu, le bras, puissance, parolle et sapience de pere." (Ibid. p. 10). In this chapter there is nothing which distinguishes Farel as an advocate of the ancient Christological and Trinitarian theology. Indeed, Servetus would have agreed with this work. Furthermore, Farel had once laboured with a certain Claude Aliodi. In 1534, the year in which Farel published his Sommaire, Aliodi had publicly denied the pre-existence of Christ. In the spring of 1537 he was at Geneva teaching his anti-trinitarian theories (Doumergue, II, pp.241-242). No one denied that Aliodi was an Arian. Farel, his erstwhile friend, had written a book which could be interpreted in an Arian sense. Calvin was a friend of Farel. Therefore, concluded Caroli, Calvin is also an Arian. This mode of reasoning might seem impossible among educated men were it not so prevalent today. The second reason why Caroli felt that he had a basis for his accusation was the fact that the Instruction et Confession de Foy on use en l'Eglise de Genève, a confession which did not employ the technical terminology of the traditional creeds, was written to usurp the place which these symbols had occupied in the life of the Church. It is true that in the Second Chapter of this work there was an exposition of the Apostles' Creed, but it is also true that the precise definitions of Nicea and Chalcedon were not employed. There is not doubt that Caroli was mistaken, but how do we explain the fact that many Protestants doubted Calvin's orthodoxy in this matter? The answer seems to be that Calvin fell into Caroli's trap at the Council of Lausanne on February 17, 1537. Caroli, having accused the Genevan pastors of heresy, challenged Calvin to assent to the Apostles', Nicene and Athanasian Creeds. Calvin, however, refused to sign them, and affirmed: "We have professed faith in God alone, not in Athanasius, whose creed has not been approved by any properly constituted Church ("Ad haec Calvinus, nos in Dei unius fidem jurasse respondit, non Athanasii eius Symbolum nulla unquam legitima ecclesia approbasset." Herminjard, IV, 185f). Calvin's attitude is understandable, but in view of the question unfortunate. It is understandable because the Quicunque does not have conciliar authority; it is unfortunate that Calvin holding to the teachings of the Apostles' and Nicene Creeds should have refused to sign them. It is understandable that Calvin affirmed that he trusted in God alone and not in any creed; it is unfortunate that he was not more specific in his reasons for refusing to sign the creeds at that time. It is understandable that Calvin's reformation principle is in accord with the teachings of the Catholic Church.[1]

II *Conscience*

The second area in which the influence of the Catholic Church is evident in Calvin's theology is in his doctrine of conscience. Before discussing the reformer's teachings, it will be necessary to delineate the main stream of thought relative to the idea of conscience.

The notion of conscience first found expression in Greek

Sola Scriptura Sacra required him to stand by Scripture alone; it is unfortunate that he did not note the parallels between Scripture and the creeds, instead of offering criticisms of the Nicene formulation (Cf. for example, the following: "Vides autem in hic verbis esse battologiam, Deum de Deo, lumen de lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero. Quorsum ista repititio? An vel emphasim? Vides ergo carmen esse, magis cantillando aptam quam formulam confessionis, in qua syllabam unam redundare absurdum est." (*Defensio*...*Adversus Petri Caroli Calumnias*, C.R. 35, 315-316). It is clear that Calvin was neither an Arian nor a Sabellian. It is equally clear that he gave Bellarmine the opportunity to say of him: "Nec dissimilis est in haec parte Calvinus Arianis: nam in Concilio Aquileiensi S. Ambrosius numquam potui extorguere a duabus haereticis Arianis ut dicerunt, Filium esse Deum verum de Deo vero...Et a Calvino in Concilio Lausanensi nunquam potuisse extorqueri ut fateatur, Filium esse Deum de Deo..." (Bellarmin, *Secunda Controversia Generalis De Christi*, in *Opera Omnia*, I, (Paris: apud Ludericum Vives), p. 335). It is understandable that Calvin refused to be limited to the very words of the ancient formulas in formulating his doctrines; it is unfortunate that at such an important gathering he should have made light of the Athanasius Creed. The final conclusion which must be drawn is that although Calvin's attitude at the Lausanne conference left much to be desired, his orthodoxy as regards the contents of the ecumenical creeds was unimpeachable. That sincere Protestants were suspicious of Calvin's orthodoxy is understandable in the light of his jesting with Caroli about the creed, but this does not change the fact that he taught the traditional doctrines about the person of Christ and the Holy Trinity.

[1] This statement should also be extended to all the later editions of the *Institutes*. Calvin always remained firm in advocating the traditional view of Christology and the Holy Trinity.

philosophy. The Stoics were the first to use the term συνείδησις in the sense of consciousness; for in order to live κατὰ φύσιν, it was necessary to have consciousness or cognition of the law of nature.

The ethical idea, nameless at first, is clear in Sophocles' Antigone. In this tragedy, Antigone refused to obey the law of Creon because it was contrary to a law, a law eternal in the heavens. Antigone could not see any harmony between Creon's law and the eternal law. This notion of seeing together is precisely the meaning of συνείδησις, which is a composed word, συν, "with" or "together," and εἴδω, "I see." συνείδησις, then, is the means by which the ancients knew whether human actions correspond with the moral law.

It was Cicero (ob. 43 B.C.) who gave the Latin equivalent of συνείδησις, conscientia, an ethical connotation. Two ideas emerge clearly in his writings. First, conscience pursues men.[1] Second, it is divine.[2] Seneca (ob. A.D. 65) added two other notions to the emerging attempt to define conscience. He affirmed that it is the judge and accuser of men's actions.[3] He also referred to it as a keeper.[4] Finally, Pliny (ob. A.D. 115) affirmed that it was a lawgiver.[5] It is

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1. Cicero, Pro Sexto Roscio Amerino, 67 (Loeb Classics).
2. Ibid, Paradoxa Stoicorum, iv, 29.
3. Seneca, De Beneficiis, vi, 42.
4. Ibid, Epistola, 43.
5. Pliny, Epistola, I, 22.

clear, then, that the ethical doctrine of conscience is derived from Roman Stoic sources and not from the Hebrew tradition.

It is in the light of this fact that we must recognize that Paul employs συνείδησις twenty six times.[1] He says three things about it: It is a lawgiver, it accuses and it judges. Here is a definition of conscience, it is a lawgiver. And here are two functions of conscience, it accuses and it judges.

It may be well at this point to indicate the classical and Pauline usage of the term. The following schema will elucidate this point.

Conscience	Classical Usage	Pauline Usage
Pursues men	Cicero, Pro Roscio	
Divine	Ibid. Paradoxa	
Accuses and judges	Seneca, De Beneficiis	Romans 2:15
Keeper	Ibid. Epistola 43	

It is interesting to note that Paul agrees with the Stoics in calling conscience an accuser and a judge. What is of more importance is that Paul anticipates Pliny by stating that conscience is a lawgiver.[2]

As Troeltsch points out there was in the fifth century a synthesis of Christian and Stoical ethical ideals.[3] It is beyond the scope of this work to document this assertion. The reader is referred to Troeltsch's work, The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches.

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[1] This number includes Hebrews. This must not be construed to mean we affirm the Pauline authorship of this work.

[2] 1 Corinthians 10:25.

[3] Ernst Troeltsch, The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches, I, (New York: The MacMillan Co), 1949, pp. 110ff.

In the first edition of the Institutes, Calvin accepts the Stoic-Pauline notion that conscience accuses and judges men, and by doing so stands within the tradition of the ~~Old~~ New Testament and the primitive Church.

In the 1550 edition of the Institutes Calvin developed his idea of conscience along what may clearly be identified as Stoic lines. The following will make this clear.

(1) The Stoics taught that conscience pursues men; Calvin affirmed "sed eousque persequitur donec ad reatum adducat."[1]

(2) Seneca believed that conscience was a janitor; Calvin affirmed that it was a custos.[2]

(3) Sophocles clearly understood that conscience was superior to all human judgments, even those of a king; Calvin writes: "ut humanis omnibus iudiciis superiorem esse hominis conscientiam agnoscerent."[3]

(4) For the Greeks conscience stood, as it were, between the lex naturae and human conduct; for Calvin conscience is something (he does not say what, although he describes two of its functions) between God and man. He says "Est enim quiddam inter Deum et hominum medium."[4]

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1. Barth, V, 166.
2. Barth, V, 166.
3. Ibid, 167
4. Ibid, 166.

(5) Finally, Calvin quotes Quintillian[1] to the effect that conscience is a witness: "conscientia mille testes." This reference to Quintillian is of particular importance. Paul states, "testimonium conscientiae nostrae."[2] Calvin, however, does not cite the authority of Paul, but quotes from a pagan author.

On the basis of the evidence noted above a number of conclusions emerge. First, in 1535 Calvin did not have a clearly delineated doctrine of conscience. He simply stated that conscience accuses and judges men. This idea was undoubtedly taken over from Paul's statement in Romans 2:15. But in accepting this notion, Calvin stands in the line of Catholic Tradition. Second, by 1550 the reformer had developed his doctrine along formal Stoic lines. The extent of this development will be seen from the following schema.

Conscience	Classical Usage	Pauline Usage	Calvin
Pursues men	Yes	No	Yes
Divine	Yes	No	*Quiddam*
Accuses and judges men	Yes	Yes	Yes
Keeper	Yes	No	Yes
Lawgiver	Yes	Yes	No
Superior to all human judgment	Yes	No	Yes
Witness	Yes	Yes	Yes

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[1] Quintillianus, *De institutione orationis*, V, ii, 41.
[2] 2 Corinthians 1:12.

Third, Calvin follows Paul and differs from the Stoics in not calling conscience divine. Indeed, he does not say what it is, beyond saying that it is an awareness of divine judgment. He speaks of conscience as quiddam, and is then satisfied to note its functions.

Fourth, Calvin goes beyond the Stoics and becomes more explicit than Paul when he affirms that a good conscience is purity of heart, a lively zeal for the worship of God, and a sincere desire and endeavour to live a pious and holy life. It is clear from the text that the reformer was aware that Paul taught these things implicitly.

Finally, it must be noted that although Calvin formally developed his doctrine along Stoic lines, the material development is along Christian lines. In Calvin conscience has to do with God and the law revealed by him. It manifests itself in purity of life, in love for the worship of God, in piety and holiness of life. In other terms, Calvin stands within the framework of the synthesis noted by Troeltsch.

III The Apocrypha

The third area in which Calvin manifests the influence of the Catholic Church is in his use of the Apocrypha. There is no doubt that the Old Testament Apocrypha was accepted in the ancient Church as part of Scripture. Damasus, (ob. 384) bishop of Rome, in his De Canone S. Scripturae lists the Apocrypha as part of the Bible.[1] The Council of Cartharge (397), over which Augustine presided, lists as canonical "Salomonis libri quinque...

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[1] Denzinger, Enchiridion, p. 39f.

Tobias, Judith...Machabaeorum libri duo."[1] Innocent I., bishop of Rome (*ob*. 417), in his epistle ad Exuperium, makes a distinction between canonical and apocryphal books. But he includes the Old Testament Apocrypha among the canonical books.[2] Finally, Gelasius I, (ob. 496), bishop of Rome, in his *Decretali de recipiendis et non recipiendis libris*, accepts the Old Testament Apocrypha among the books to be received by the Church.[3]

In the writings of Calvin under consideration there are three references to the Apocrypha. In two instances he simply makes a passing reference to certain chapters; they are Baruch three and Daniel three.[4] In one case, however, he quotes the actual text. This is Baruch 2:18-20; 3:2.[5]

The question which this usage provokes is this: What is the significance of the fact that Calvin quoted from the Old Testament Apocrypha? In order to answer this question it will be necessary to make a brief study of the reformer's use of the Apocrypha in the different editions of the *Institutes*.

Beginning with the 1536 edition, we note that two of the three quotations are from one book, namely Baruch. This means that in this edition Calvin refers to two works from the Apocrypha, the apocryphal section of Daniel and Baruch. As regards these quotations, three points should be noted.

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1. *Ibid*, p. 46.
2. *Ibid*, p. 48.
3. *Ibid*, p. 77.
4. *Vide*, *supra*, p. 68. The verses referred to are from the apocryphal section of Daniel 3.
5. *Vide*, *supra*, p. 213.

(1) He never quotes the Apocrypha alone to substantiate his doctrine. He cites James 1 with Baruch 3, Psalm 148 with Daniel 3, and Daniel 9 with Baruch 2 & 3.

(2) He calls Baruch a prophet.

(3) He places Baruch on the same level with Daniel. Having quoted Daniel 9, he says "Alter vero propheta scribit."

In the 1539 edition Calvin rewrote the section in which James 1 and Baruch 2 appear and dropped both references. The omission of the apocryphal text, however, proves nothing, inasmuch as the canonical reference was also discontinued. In this edition he also omitted the passage in which Psalm 148 and the apocryphal section of Daniel 3 are quoted. This means that in the 1539 edition only one of the original references to the Apocrypha remains; namely, the quotation from Baruch.

In the 1539 edition Calvin makes reference to two other apocryphal works, Ecclesiasticus and Maccabees. He rejects Maccabees as an apocryphal work, but gives no evidence for doing so.[1] He mentions Ecclesiasticus twice. In the first reference he says three things about the work.[2]

(1) The book is of doubtful authority.

(2) We should not reject it.

(3) We may lawfully reject it.

Calvin's discussion here is most ambiguous. The question immediately comes to mind (one which Calvin never answers), If this work is of doubtful authority and we may lawfully

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1. Barth, IV, 140.
2. Ibid, III, 318.

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1. Barth, IV, 140.
2. *Ibid*, III, 318.

reject it, why does the reformer tell his readers that they ought not to reject it?

The second reference to Ecclesiasticus reads: "In reputianda Ecclesiastici authoritate ius meum nunc remitte."[1] The original text is given because of the difficulty involved in translating nunc. Norton, for example, translates: "As for my power in resisting the authority of Ecclesiasticus, I now quit."[2] Norton understood Calvin to mean that he now accepted the authority of Ecclesiasticus after having doubted its authority. Beveridge agrees with this version.[3] For Allen, however, Calvin's acceptance of Ecclesiasticus as authoratative was only temporary. His text reads, "I at the present relinguish my right to reject the authority of Ecclesiasticus."[4] In view of this difficulty, we are fortunate in having Calvin's own interpretation of the text. In the 1541 edition of the Institution Chrestienne he has "Combien que ie puisse repudier l'Ecclesiastique, entant que ce livre n'est point canonique, toutesfois ie m'en deporte."[5]

In 1539, then, Calvin rejected Maccabees, without giving any reasons for his rejection of it, and would not repudiate

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[1] Barth, IV, 242.

[2] John Calvin, The Institutes of the Christian Religion, Trans. by Thomas Norton, (Glasgow: Alexander Irvine), 1762, p.

[3] Ibid, Trans. by Henry Beveridge, (Edinburgh: Calvin Translation Society) 1845, p. 378.

[4] Ibid, Trans. by John Allen, (Philadelphia: Presbyterian Board of Christian Education), n.d. Vol. 2, p. 28.

[5] C.R. 31, 298.

Ecclesiasticus, although he admitted that the work was not canonical.

When we examine the 1543 edition of the *Institutes* we find the quotation from Baruch and the references to Ecclesiasticus unchanged. Furthermore, Calvin quotes from Tobias, and gives his reasons for rejecting Maccabees. In his reference to Tobias he clearly distinguishes between Tobias and Scripture. The text reads as follows: "For the two names (of the angels) which are found in Scripture, Michael and Gabriel, and the third, if you wish to add from the history of Tobias."[1] Calvin, then, did not consider Tobias as a part of Scripture.

As regards Maccabees, in this edition Calvin gives his reasons for rejecting it.[2] First, he repudiated it because it had been rejected by the ancient Church. He cites the example of Augustine who, although he received it as canonical, did not place it on the same level as the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms.[3] He refers to Jerome who taught that Maccabees (What is said here about Maccabees is true of all the books of the Apocrypha) had no authority in matters of doctrine.[4] And, according to Cyprian, the book was not admitted in the canon of the ancient Church. Second, the reformer rejected the book because it showed internal evidence of non-inspiration. The reformer had in mind the words of the writer of Maccabees: "Which if I have done well, and as it becomes history, it is what I desired; but if not so perfectly, it must be pardoned me."[1] Calvin comments on this passage thus: "Certainly he who confesses that of his writings, proclaims them not to be the oracles of the Holy Spirit."[2 & 3]

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[1] Barth, I, 160.

[2] *Ibid*, IV, 140f.

[3] Augustine, *Contra Gaudentium*, I, Et hanc quidem Scripturam quae appellatur Machabaeorum, non habent Judaei sicut Legem, et Prophetas, et Psalmes...sed recepta est ab Ecclesia non inutiliter, si sobrie legatur vel audiatur" (P.L. 43, 729).

[4] Jerome, *Praefatio in Libros Salomonis*, "Sicut ergo Judith, et Tobi, et Machabaeorum libros legit quidem Ecclesia, sed inter canonicas Scripturas non recipit." (P.L. 28,1308).

In the 1550 edition of the *Institutes*, Calvin retains the quotation from Baruch which first appeared in 1536; he keeps the reference to Ecclesiasticus from 1539; he also keeps the quotation from Tobias and the reasons for rejecting Maccabees which first appeared in 1543. In the 1550 text he cites Maccabees as he would any profane author,[1] and refers to the book of wisdom only to refute the implications of its teachings.[2] All these quotations remain in the 1559 edition of the Institutes.

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[1] 2 Maccabees 15:39.

[2] Barth, IV, 141.

[3] Calvin's arguments against Maccabees do not prove his point. The following considerations are presented in support of this contention. (1) According to the quotation from Augustine, the bishop placed Maccabees on a lower level than the Law, the Prophets and the Psalms. Even if we accept the possibility that Augustine followed Jerome's notion of the Prophets as including Joshua, Judges, Ruth, the two books of Samuel and the two books of Kings (Jerome, *Libri Samuelis et Malachim*, P.L. 28, 598), there still remain Chronicles, Proverbs, Job, Song of Songs, Ecclesiastes and Esther. It is impossible to fit these books into the Law or the Psalms. We know, however, that Augustine accepted as part of Scripture these books which cannot be included in the division, Law, Prophets and Psalms. It seems that he gave to them the same value which he placed on the Apocrypha. Therefore, if Calvin had truly followed Augustine he would have accepted Maccabees and the rest of the Apocrypha. (2) Calvin next quotes the testimony of Jerome that the Apocrypha is used "for edification of the people, not to give authority to the doctrine of the Church." (The source given by Barth for this quotation is "Hieronymis, *Praef. in libros Samuel. et malachim*, prologus galeatus,MSL 28, 556/7. *Calvini Opera*, IV, p. 140,f.n. 7. This is incorrect. In this *Preface*, although Jerome speaks of the Apocrypha, he says nothing about its use. Calvin undoubtedly had in mind *Praefatio Hieronymi in Libros Salomonis*, P.L. 28, 1308). The reformer, however, does not follow the implication involved in this quotation that the Apocrypha is useful for instruction. It seems that he accepted only the negative element in Jerome's argument. (3) Calvin correctly quotes the evidence in what he calls that old book written "sub nomine Cypriani de expositione Symboli." In considering Cyprian as the author of this work, Calvin undoubtedly followed the testimony of Erasmus, who identified the work as that of Cyprian (Cf. Barth, IV, 141, f.n.1). We know, however, that

Having examined the evidence of the development of Calvin's use of the Apocrypha in the editions of the Institutes, it will now be possible to say something about the original question, to wit, What is the significance of the fact that Calvin quotes from the Apocrypha in the 1536 edition of the Institutes. First, of all, it must be affirmed that the reformer stands

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the Commentarius in Symbolum Apostolorum, which the reformer had in mind, was written by Rufinus (ob. 410). The evidence in this work supports Calvin's view (Cf. P.L. 21, 374). But, in quoting this authority Calvin gives only one side of the picture. Pope Damasus, for example, at a Roman Synod in 382, defined De Canone S Scripturae, and under the title "Item ordo storiarum" has "Iob, Tobiae, Esdrae, Hester, Judit, Machabeorum." (Denzinger, Enchiridion, p. 39f). Again, at the Council of Carthage in 397 the above mentioned works were listed as part of Scripture. Calvin's quotation of the Commentary does not prove his point. It gives the view of an individual, whereas the opinion of a Synod and a Council were opposed to it. (4) Calvin is correct in affirming that there is evidence on non-inspiration in Maccabees. But the same may be said about 1 Corinthians 7, namely, verse twenty five, which reads: "Now concerning virgins I have no commandment of the Lord: yet I give my judgment," or in verse twelve: "But to the rest speak I, not the Lord." If, then, Calvin had been consistent, he would have rejected 1 Corinthians along with Maccabees. We therefore affirm, in view of this evidence, that Calvin's arguments for rejecting Maccabees are weak.

1. Barth, III, 78.

2. Ibid, 96.

within the ancient Catholic tradition in quoting the Apocrypha as Scripture. But it must also be added that Calvin never quotes from the Apocrypha to substantiate any doctrine. He also cites with the text from the Apocrypha a passage canonical Scripture. This leads us to the conclusion that Calvin, in 1534/5, was operating on Jerome's principle, to wit, that the Apocrypha is not to be used to give authority to the doctrine of the Church.

IV The Atonement

The fourth area of Calvin's theology which manifests the influence of Catholic thought is his doctrine of the atonement. It can hardly be controverted that Anselm's (*ob*. 1109) *Cur Deus Homo* presents the traditional view of the atonement. The main categories of this work are *inobedientia*, *obedientia*, *justitia Dei*, *satisfactio*, *persolvo* and *debitum*. And these are precisely the categories which Calvin used in his discussion of the atonement. The following quotation from Calvin's *De fide* illustrates the use of four of these words:

> "He played the part of Adam, took his name, so that by it he might manifest his obedience to the Father, so that by it he might manifest his obedience to the Father, so that he might offer our flesh in satisfaction to the justice of God, so that he might pay the punishment of sin in our flesh."[1]

Again, Calvin is specific when he says, "we call sins debts."[2] It is clear, then, that the reformer in this edition of the *Institutes* closely followed the teachings of Anselm's *Cur Deus Homo*.

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1. *Vide*, *supra*, p. 169
2. *Ibid*, p. 247

V Communicatio Idiomatum

The final doctrine which must be discussed in this chapter is Calvin's teachings about the communicatio idiomatum. Calvin is quite emphatic that his doctrine is based solely on Scripture. In order to evaluate this assertion it will be necessary to delineate the doctrines of the communicatio idiomatum which were prevalent when the reformer wrote his work.

First among these is the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church. This is clearly set forth in Aquinas' Summa Theologica. St. Thomas begins his exposition by noting the authority of John of Damascus, in whose writings the formula ἀντιδοσεως.. ἰδιωμάτων is found.[1] Aquinas then proceeds to expound his own doctrine.[2] He writes:

> "Catholics...maintained that words which are said of Christ, either in his divine or in his human nature, may be said either of God or of man...And the reason of this is that, since there is one hypostasis of both natures, the same hypostasis is signified by the name of either nature. Thus whether we say man or God, the hypostasis of the divine and human nature is signified. And hence, of the Man may be said what belongs to the Divine Nature, as of a hypostasis of the Divine Nature; and of God may be said what belongs to the human nature, as of a hypostasis of human nature ...Nevertheless, it must be borne in mind that in a proposition in which something is predicated of another, we must not merely consider what the predicate is predicated of, but also the reason of its being predicated. Thus, although we do not distinguish things predicated

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[1] Joannis Damasceni, De Fide Orthodoxa, Lib., III, cap. iv, (P.G. 94,1000).

[2] For the same doctrine, see Bonaventura, Commentaria in Quatuor Libros Sententiarum, II, Dist. VI, Art. 1, Q.1, in Omnia, III, (Quaracchi: Ex Typographia Collegii S Bonaventurae), 1887, p. 150, col. 2.

> of Christ, yet we distinguish that by reason of which they are predicated, since those things that belong to the Divine Nature are predicated of Christ in his Divine Nature, and those that belong to the human nature are predicated of Christ in his human nature..."[1]

The following points should be underscored in this quotation:

(1) The communicatio idiomatum means the mutual attribution of the properties of the divine and human natures in Christ.

(2) The basis of the communicatio is the hypostatic union.

(3) The mutual attribution of the properties of the two natures is not made directly to the natures themselves but to the person of Christ. This means that we may say that Christ is God, or that Christ is man; but we must not say that divinity is humanity.

(4) Aquinas did not employ the formula, communicatio idiomatum, although it was in use at this time.[2]

At the Reformation the doctrine underwent a slight, but significant, change at the hands of Luther. We have not been able to find any evidence that he employed the formula before the year 1543/4, when he wrote:

> "Porro autem patres hoc communicatio idiomatum appellarunt, quod communicet suas proprietates ultraque natura illi personae, quae est filius Dei: Humana communicat illi personae, quae est filius Dei, et divina natura ei, quae est filius Mariae...una unione duarum naturarum, ut recte dicatur: hic homo condidet stellas; Deus vagit in cunis; et homo creator et gubernator angelorum, qui sugit ubera matris: qui creavit omnia, jacet in praesepio."[3]

Luther, however, had employed the doctrine of the communicatio long before that date. When he formulated his doctrine of the ubiquity of Christ's human body, he was ipso facto thinking in terms of the communicatio. In his Bekentniss von Abendmal Christi, published in 1538, he affirmed a real mutual communication of the natures.[1] Thus he could say that Christ's human body **was** ubiquitous, since God is infinite. Luther, then, at least by the 15th of May, 1528, had reinterpreted the traditional doctrine of the communicatio idiomatum.

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[1] Aquinas, Summa Theologica, III, Q. 16, Art. 4.

[2] Cf. Bonaventura op. cit., p. 14 and 148f.

[3] Luther, Enarratio capitis noni Esaiae, 1543/4. (Werke, 40,iii, p. 703f).

The third view with which Calvin had to contend was that of Servetus. In his De Trinitatis Erroribus, published in 1531, he explicitly rejected any notion of a communicatio idiomatum as a sophistical fancy.[2]

Calvin's doctrine in the 1536 edition of the Institutes is as follows: The communicatio idiomatum means that "by virtue of a communication, they assign to his divinity what was peculiar to his humanity, and to his humanity what they saw belonged to his divinity." Three things should be observed about this doctrine. First, Calvin rejected the notion of Servetus. Second, he di**verged** from the traditional view. Aquinas affirmed: "and hence what belongs to the human nature can in nowise be predicated of the divine nature." Third, Calvin inclines to Luther's teaching. His statement that "they assign to his divinity what was peculiar to his humanity, and to his humanity what they saw belonged to his divinity," implies a communication of the divine and human natures in themselves.

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[1] Luther, Bekentniss von Abendmahl Christi, (Werke, 26, pp. 460-470).

[2] Servetus, De Trinitatis Erroribus "Pro qua re communis schola communicationem idiomatum adinvenit, scilicet quod natura humana sua praedicat a Deo communicat...si Christus ipse esset interrogandus, an imaginatio tam sophistica esset reperibilis in ore eius..." leaf 10 b.

[3] "Et per idiomatum communicationem, ipsius divinitati assignant quae humanitatis propria erant, et humanitati quae ad divinitatem spectabant." Barth, I, 79.

It is important to note, however, that the illustrations which Calvin uses to substantiate his point actually support the traditional view of the *communicatio idiomatum*. He quotes John 8:58, where the predicate is true of the divine nature. He speaks of Jesus' growth, which is true of his human nature alone. He refers to those passages in which the predicate belongs to the whole person, e.g. Christ is appointed judge of the living and the dead. Indeed, as regards the last point, Calvin is very clear. He writes: "Expressions abound in the Gospel of John, which neither suit well his divinity, nor his humanity, but which fit perfectly well the person of Christ."[2] Finally, when he quotes Paul to clarify the meaning of the *communicatio idiomatum* he expounds the traditional view. Here the emphasis is laid upon the source of the communication of the properties, namely, the hypostatic union.[3]

It is evident that in the first edition of the *Institutes*

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[1] Aquinas, *Summa*, III, Q. 16, Art. 5, *Ad Tercium*. "Et ideo ea quae sunt humanae naturae, nullo modo possunt dici de divina natura."

[2] Barth, I, 80.

[3] Barth, I, p. 80.

Calvin is not clear about his doctrine of the *communicatio idiomatum*. It should be added that in 1539 he changed the sentence which implies a Lutheran understanding of the *communicatio,* and brought it more in line with the traditional view. The revised text reads: "And this union of the two natures which is in Christ, they so carefully maintain, that they sometimes attribute to one what belongs to another."[1] Here the attribution of natures is not *in abstracto*, but in Bonaventura's phrase,[2] "in concretione," that is to say, in the person of Christ.

The five areas discussed in this chapter in which Calvin's work manifests the influence of the ancient Church must not be interpreted to mean that all the points of contact have been treated. We have simply tried to indicate five areas in which Calvin agreed with traditional teachings of the ancient Church.

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[1] "Atque istam quidem duplicis naturae coniunctionem quae in Christo subest, tanta religione expriment, ut eas quandoque inter se communicent..." Barth, III, p. 459.

[2] Bonaventura, "Duae autem naturae ita concurrunt in unam personam Christi, ut tamen humana natura praedicari non valeat in *abstractione,* sed magis in *concretione* ad idem suppositum." *op. cit*. p. 150, col. 2.

Appendix to Chapter One

ROMAN CATHOLIC INFLUENCES IN CALVIN'S THEOLOGY

There are in the first three chapters of the editio princeps two doctrines which must be acknowledged as Roman Catholic. They are theories of the Catholic tradition which were not retained in the later developments of Calvin's theology, or of the Reformation, and which, on the contrary, were emphatically reaffirmed by the theologians of the Counter-Reformation.

I Donum Superadditum

First among these is the doctrine of donum superadditum. In order to make this point clear, it may help if the doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church is clearly set forth. Pohle-Preuss,[1] an eminent Roman Catholic theologian, affirms that the donum superadditum consisted of three things: first, the praeternatural intergrity which embraced immunity from concupiscence, immortality, and infused knowledge; second supernatural grace; and third, infused virtues. Calvin defined the gratiae dona as wisdom, righteousness, and holiness. He then says that Adam, on account of his sin, lost his wisdom, righteousness, virtue and life.[2] The teaching of the Roman Catholic Church and the French reformer may be compared as follows:

Rome	Calvin
Immunity from concupiscence	Holiness

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[1] Joseph Pohle-Preuss, God, The Author of Nature and Supernature, (St. Louis: B.Herder), 1912, pp. 187ff.

[2] Vide, supra, p. 70

Rome	Calvin
Immortality	Life[1]
Infused knowledge	Wisdom
Supernatural grace	Righteousness
Infused virtue	Virtue.

Is there any difference between these two views, once the more precise language of the Roman theologian is granted? We think not. Apparently Calvin thought not too, since he dropped the idea of gratiae dona in the 1539 edition.

II Grace

The second doctrine which may be viewed as Roman Catholic is the reformer's teaching about grace. He says, "cum gratia ipsa sit spiritus virtus atque actio."[2] This notion of grace as power is certainly a Roman Catholic notion. It has nothing in common with the Lutheran conception that grace is divine mercy.[3] Calvin dropped the idea in the 1559 edition.

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[1] Calvin frequently employs the term life for eternal life.

[2] Barth, I, 85.

[3] "Cur non exponunt gratiam, misericordiam Dei erga nos." Apologia Confessionis Augustanae, (C.R. XXVII, 513).

CHAPTER TWO

CALVIN'S LUTHERANISM

I *Early Lutheran Influence on Calvin*

In this chapter something must be said about the influence of that doctrine which was known in Calvin's day as Lutheranism. There is no doubt that many doctrines which were condemned in the sixteenth century as Lutheran had been promulgated long before Luther's time. The Waldensians, for example, denied the supremacy of the Pope, the value of indulgences, the practice of praying to the saints, and affirmed the priesthood of all believers.[1] Again, Faber Stapulensis wrote in 1512 his *In Omnes Epistoli Pauli Commentaria*. Doumergue, with reason, calls this book "le premier livre protestant."[2] In this commentary, composed five years before Luther posted his ninety-five theses, Le Fevre taught doctrines which were at variance with those of the Roman Church. The following points deserve attention.

(1) Justification is by grace alone.[3]

(2) Human merit has no value in the sphere of salvation.[4]

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[1] Cf. Bernard Gui, *Manuel de l'inquisiteur*, translated and quoted in *The Portable Medieval Reader*, edited by James Ross and Mary McLaughlin (New York: The Viking Press), 1953, p.202ff.

[2] Doumergue, *op. cit.*, I, p. 81

[3] "Sed ex hoc nondum justificatus, nondum justitiam habes; ex qua vitam habere possit aeternam. Solus enim Deus est, qui hanc justitiam per fidem tradit, qui sola gratia ad vitam justificat aeternam." *In Omnes Epistola Pauli Commentaria*, (Paris: Henrici Stephani), 1515, leaf 71 verso.

[4] Nam proprie meritum: non gratiam requirere videbur, sed debitum. Et meritum tribuere operibus: prope modum cum eis est sentire qui credunt nos ex operibus justificari posse...ergo meritum operum nostrorum, quod vel perexiguum est aut potius nullum taceamus: et gratiam dei quae totum est magnificemus. Qui meritum defendit, hominem respicit; qui gratiam respicit deum." Ibid, leaf 113.

(3) The liturgy of the Church should be said in the vernacular.[1]

(4) The marriage of priests should be allowed.[2]

(5) There is no transubstantiation of the elements in the Eucharist.[3]

(6) There is one passage in the *Commentary on Romans* which, interpreted in the context of Le Fevre's thought, means that Scripture alone has authority in the Church.[4]

There is no doubt that Calvin was influenced by Le Fevre. Indeed, it was after a visit to this aged Roman priest, who was a Protestant *ad limina ignis*,[5] that Calvin resigned his benefices at Noyon.[1]

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[1] "Et maxima pars hominum cum nunc orat, nescio si spiritu, tamen mente non orat. Nam in lingua orat quam non intelligit." *Ibid*, leaf 122 verso.

[2] "Apostolicum nuptiarum ritum retinuerat Graeci, neque mutare voluerunt; agamian acceptaverunt aliae ecclesiae, unde plurimi per deteriorem incontinentiam lapsi, in pedicas inciderunt diaboli." *Ibid*, leaf 197.

[3] Ergo quae in ministerio sacerdotii eius quotidie peraguntur, non tam sunt iteratae oblationes, quam unius eiusdem, et quae semel tantum oblata est, victimae memoria ac recordatio...Nec aliud mysterium continet quam ex praesentia corporis et sanquinis olim oblati illius divinae et omnisalvifice oblationis satisfactionisque memoriam." *Ibid*, leaf 239.

[4] "Hareamus igitur soli Christi et doctrinae apostolicae... Nam illa et sufficit, et prima ac praecipua est ad salutem." *Ibid*, leaf 100.

[5] It is only fair to advert, however, that a manuscript, discovered in the public library at Geneva in 1862, indicates that Le Fèvre confessed his weakness in not making a more decided stand for his faith just before he died. The manuscript is of a letter written by Farel to Michael d'Arande, and reads in part: "Our master, Jacques Lefèvre Estaples, when suffering from the disease by which he died, was for some days so terrified by the judgment of God that he cried out that hisfate was sealed...When Gérard Roussel admonished him to be of good courage and to trust in Christ, he answered 'I am condemned; I have concealed the truth which I ought to have professed and openly bore witness to!...'" The Latin text with a French translation is found in the *Bulletin de la Societe de l'Histoirie Protestantisme Francais*, XI, (Paris: Agence Centrale de la Societe), p. 214ff.

It is equally clear, however, that Calvin was directly influenced by Luther in his early years. In his *Secunda Defensio Contra Westphalum*, composed in 1556, he wrote:

> "For when I was beginning to emerge from the darkness of the papacy, having gained a slight taste of sound doctrine, I read in Luther that nothing was left of the Sacraments by Oecolampadius and Zwingli save bare and empty figures. I confess that I was alienated from reading them. Afterwards, before I undertook to write, they modified something of their former vehemence, having discussed together at Marbourg"[2]

The conference at Marbourg took place on October 3rd, 1529. This means that Calvin had been influenced by Luther before that date.[3]

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[1] Cf. Lefranc, *Jeuneusse de Calvin*, p. 200. I am indebted to Doumergue for this reference. I, p. 424.

[2] C.R. 37, 51.

[3] Calvin probably had in mind Luther's *Dass diese Wort Christi, 'Das ist mein Leib' noch feststehen, wider die Schwärmgeister*. (*Werke*, 23, p. 38ff), or his *Bekentniss von Abendmahl Christi* (*Werke*, 26, 241ff). The first work was published at Wittemburg in 1527, and the *Bekentniss* came off the presses in the following year. In both of these works Luther controverts the eucharistic ideas of Oecolampadius and Zwingli. Both works were translated into Latin, the *Bekentniss* in Wittenburg in 1539, and *Dass diese Wort Christi* at Nuremburg in 1556. Calvin states in the text quoted above that he read Luther before his conference at Marbourg. This means before 1529. This raised a problem, namely, what did Calvin imply by "legerem apud Lutherum"? If these words are interpreted literally, they mean that Calvin read German. But there is no evidence at all that he did. The "legerem apud Lutherum," may, of course, represent a mistake by Calvin. He wrote these words twenty years after he wrote the *Institutes*, and about thirty years after the event of which he writes. He may have read a translation of the *Bekentniss* in 1539 and not in 1529. There is, however, another possibility. Wolmar, of whom Doumergue says: "Wolmar en effet était luthérien, dans tout le vrai sens du mot" (*Jean Calvin*, I, p. 181), was Calvin's friend at Orléans and Bourges. It is quite probable that this Wolmar read the works noted above to Calvin. In this case the "Legerem apud Lutherum" would have to be understood in a figurative sense. Jacques Pannier affirms that this was the case. Cf. his *Recherches sur la Formation intellectuelle de Calvin* (Paris: Librairie Alcan, 1931, p. 59f).

The point we wish to make here is that by Lutheran influence we mean all those ideas which in Calvin's day were considered as Lutheran. It will be clear to the reader that some of these doctrines were taught in the fourteenth century by the Waldensians, and others by reforming spirits in the Church before Luther posted his theses. It is equally clear to anyone who has read the literature of the Reformation that when Calvin wrote his *Institutes* the advocates of reform were called Lutherans.[1]

It is beyond the province of this chapter to attempt to identify the exact source of Calvin's "Lutheran" teaching. We simply wish to note the fact that the French reformer was greatly indebted to his contemporaries, and to give concrete illustrations of this influence.

II *Lutheran Influence in the Editio Princeps*

There is, of course, no doubt that Calvin's first edition of the *Institutes* is a Protestant document. The slogans of the Reformation, *sola gratia*, *sola fide*, *sola scriptura sacra*, *solus Christus* and *soli Deo gloria*, permeate Calvin's work.[2] There are, however, besides these points four doctrines which should be noted.

The first of these is Calvin's doctrine of the law. Time and time again he emphasizes the fact that man is incapable of observing the law. The result is that the law becomes a judge and reveals the wrath of God. This is Lutheran teaching.[1] Again, Calvin agreed with the Lutherans that the law has three uses. What they are, we shall discuss in the next chapter. The fact is noted here. Then, the French reformer followed the Lutherans in rejecting the Roman Catholic notion of evangelical counsels. His doctrine follows closely that of Melanchthon as it is expressed in his Loci.[2]

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[1] Cf. the following: "Quum Deus initio Lutherum et alios excitavit, qui nobis facem ad reperiendam salutis viam praetulerunt, et quorum ministerio fundatae sunt et institutae nostrae ecclesiae..." *De Necessitate Reformandae Ecclesiae* C.R. 34, 459.

[2] The reformers reinterpreted some of these formulae which were known before their time.

The second doctrine in which Calvin manifests his dependence upon the Lutherans is his teaching about faith. In the first place, he accepted Melanchthon's distinction between faith as mental assent, "adsentiuntur historiae Evangelicae impii," and faith as trust, "fiducia," in God.[3] Calvin speaks of faith as "historiam quae de Christo narratur veram esse arbitretur," and as "fiducia in uno Deo ac Christo."[4] The parallels between the two theologians ~~is~~ are too evident to be merely a coincidence. In the second place, Calvin agreed that justification is by faith alone, namely, by trusting in the goodness and mercy of God. And, therefore, with the Lutherans, he rejected the idea of merit and the notion of works of supererogation,

The third doctrine to be noted in this chapter is Calvin's teaching about prayer. Calvin, it will be remembered, divided prayer into two parts, petition and thanksgiving, and quoted in support of this arrangement Psalm 50:15. It is surely not a case of chance that Melanchthon made the same division and quoted the same text.[1] Neither can it be considered simply a coincidence that Calvin wrote "Our very kind Father has added two things to this knowledge of our indigence by means of which he may powerfully incite us to a zeal for prayer: the command, by which he admonishes us to pray; the promise, in which he pledges that we are going to get whatever we shall ask,"[2] since Melanchthon also wrote: "I have spoken about the precept...In the second place, the promise must be considered."[3] We are not suggesting that Calvin plagiarized. We merely affirm that he was fully indoctrinated in Lutheran ideas.

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[1] Cf. "Id est, peccatum perterrefacit conscientias; id fit per legem, quae ostendit iram Dei adversus peccatum." Apologia Confessionis Augustanae, (C.R. XXVII, p. 441).

[2] Supra, p. 108

[3] Melanchthon, Loci, C.R. XXI, "Proinde illa Sophistica, quam vocant tum informen, tum acquisitam, qua sic adsentiuntur historiae Evangelicae impii, ut solemus vulgo Livianae, aut Salustinae, non fides, sed opinio est..." p. 161 & "Est itaque fides, non aliud nisi fiducia misericordiae divinae, promissae in Christo..." 163)

[4] Barth, I, p. 69

One other doctrine will suffice to prove the point that Calvin was greatly influenced by Lutheran theology.[4] This is his doctrine of the Church. The French reformer maintained that the Church was known through two marks, namely, the preaching of the word, and the administration of the sacraments. This is, in effect, the Lutheran definition. The term, recte, in "Est autem Ecclesia congregatio Sanctorum, in qua Evangelium recte docetur et recte administrantur Sacramenta," adds nothing to the definition. The word was undoubtedly employed to distinguish the Lutheran preaching and sacraments from the Roman Catholic sermon and the Mass. Recte, however, is devoid of content in this context, since one must ask what constitutes recte. The mere fact that recte must be explained indicates that its inclusion in the definition adds nothing to it. It may be affirmed, therefore, that the Lutheran and Calvinistic definitions of the Church are the same.

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[1] Supra, p. 223, f.n. 1

[2] Vide, supra, p. 215

[3] C.R. XXI, 537.

[4] It could be affirmed in a general sense that at this period, 1534/5, Calvin was a Lutheran.

Furthermore, Calvin concurs with the definition in the Apologia as regards the horizontal dimension of the Church. This horizontal dimension is clearly expressed in Calvin in the following sentence: "There was no period from the foundation of the earth in which the Lord did not have his Church upon the earth, and there certainly will be no time, even to the consummation of the world, in which he is not going to have it."[1] A similar idea, although not so clear, is expressed by Melanchthon: "Itaque ne desperemus, sed sciamus ecclesiam tamen mansuram esse...Et catholicam ecclesiam dicit, ne intelligamus, ecclesiam esse politiam externam certarum gentium, sed magis homines sparsos per totum orbem."[2] In both these quotations there is the notion of universality. In Melanchthon the universality is limited to "totum orbem;" Calvin has in mind, not only "totum orbem," but also time.

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[1] Vide, supra, p. 191

[2] C.R. XXVII, 526.

CHAPTER THREE

CALVIN'S ORIGINALITY

In the first two chapters of this section, we have attempted to indicate the theological influences on Calvin's theology. It has been pointed out that he hewed to the line of orthodoxy as regards conciliar theology. It was also affirmed that there still remained in his mind a residue of Roman Catholic doctrine. It has also been stated that Calvin was greatly influenced by Lutheran ideas.

The question which this brief sketch arouses is this: Was Calvin a dogmatician who furnished no new ideas, but who with care arranged the current dogmatic ideas in accordance with their essential character and their historical development?[1] In other terms, was Calvin a Protestant Aquinas? Two observations must be made about this question. First, the affirmation that Calvin did not produce any original ideas was made by a Lutheran. It is possible, therefore, that this evaluation of Calvin's contribution to theology manifests a Lutheran prejudice. Second, on the basis of a study of the first three chapters of the first edition of the the *Institutes*, we affirm that Seeberg's observation is false.

This is not to deny that there is evident in Calvin a tendency to systematize. After all he was a lawyer. But a tendency is one thing, and originality is another. Seeberg emphasizes the former to the extent that he is blinded as regards the latter. We maintain both, stressing in this chapter Calvin's originality. The following consideration will support our contention.

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[1] Reinhold Seeberg, *History of Doctrines*, II, Trans. by Charles E. Hay, (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publication Society), 1905, 394.

The Apostles' Creed

First, in his division of the Apostles' Creed into four parts Calvin manifests his originality. This fourfold division was not simply a literary device. It was not merely a matter of arrangment. It was motivated by a profound theological conviction. It is true that Calvin was indebted to Peter Lombard for the distinction between *Credo Deum* and *Credo in Deum*, but the implications of this distinction as regards the Apostles' Creed were worked out by Calvin. He trusted in God the Father, Christ the Son, and the Holy Spirit the sanctifier; he believed in the Church, the communion of saints, etc.

The Law

Second, the Lutherans taught that the law had three uses: (1) To restrain sin; (2) To bring sinners to Christ; (3) To teach Christians how they should live.[1] Calvin, however, changed the order. The following schema will indicate the difference. The threefold purpose of the law is:

	Melanchthon	Calvin
(1)	To restrain sin.	To bring sinners to Christ
(2)	To bring sinners to Christ	To restrain sin.
(3)	To teach Christians how to live.	To teach Christians how to live.

It is clear that Melanchthon's arrangement is more logical than Calvin's. It begins with those outside the Church, passes to those who are being brought into the Church, and ends with those who are in the Church. From this it is obvious that Seeberg's affirmation that Calvin merely systematized existing Reformation teaching is clearly false.

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[1] Melanchthon, Loci, "Quae sunt igitur legis officia in hac corrupta natura? Supra rescensui tria. Primum est civile, videlicet, ut coberceat omnes homines disciplina quadam::

The Descensus ad Inferos

Third, Calvin's teaching about the Descensus is original. The traditional view was that Christ had descended to the *Limbus Patrum*. Aquinas expounds the traditional doctrine thus: Christ did not descend to the hell of the lost.[1] But he did descend *ad infernum*,[2] and that for three reasons. First, to bear our penalty. Man, because of sin, merits "descensum ad inferos." Christ, however, descended in our place. Aquinas quotes in this respect Isaiah 53:4: "Vere languores nostros ipse tulit, et dolores nostros ipse portavit." Second, Christ, having overcome Satan, descended to hell to deliver those who had been detained there, i.e. the saints of the Old Testament. Third, he showed forth his power by visiting and illuminating hell. It is evident from the above that Aquinas clearly distinguished between the *infernum damnatorum* and the *infernum Patrum*, or *Limbus Patrum*. By the Descensus ad *inferos* Christ saves us from going there. Zwingli and Leo Juda affirmed that the *Descensus* simply meant that Christ had truly died. Calvin alone maintained that it was

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Secundum officium ac proprium legis divinae et praecipuum est, ostendere peccata, accusare, perterrefacere et damnare conscientias::: Tertium officium legis in his qui sunt fide iusti, est, ut et doceat eos de bonis operibus, quaenam opera Deo placeant, et praecipiat certa opera, in quibus obedientiam erga Deum exerceant."

[1] *Summa*, III, Q, 52, Art. 2

[2] *Ibid*, Art. I.

an integral part of the Atonement.[1] The difference between Aquinas and Calvin on this point is this: For Aquinas the *Descensus* meant that Christ descended to the *Limbus Patrum* or the *Infernum Patrum*, but not to the *infernum damnatorum*. For Calvin, however, the *Descensus* meant that Christ descended to the *infernum damnatorum.* For Aquinas the *descensus ad inferos* was an integral part of the Atonement as far as the Old Testament saints were concerned. For Calvin the *descensus* was a vital part of the Atonement for the *communio electorum*, i.e. for the elect whether dead, living, and yet to be born.

Death

Fourth, the French reformer's view of death is original. According to the teaching of the Roman Church, the vast majority of men enter purgatory at death.[2] Others, notably the Anabaptists, believed that at death the soul entered into sleep, to be awakened at the Last Day. Luther fluctuated between the notion of soul-sleep and the idea of future torment, between a timeless state and a condition of continued development.[3] Calvin, however, held that for the believer death is a personal encounter with the living Christ not a mental illumination. The reformer taught that death for a Christian is the gateway to heaven, not the portal to purgatory.

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[1] *Vide*, *supra*, p. 179/

[2] Aquinas writes of three possible conditions after death, namely, "...Statim ut anima absolvitur a corpore, vel in infernum immergitur, vel ad caelum evolat, nisi impediatur aliquo reatu..." Summa Suppl. Q.69, A.2. Roman Catholic theologians affirm that at death there is a particular judgment. By this they mean "that in the moment of death the separated soul is internally illuminated as to its own guilt or innocence and of its own initiation takes its course either to hell, or to purgatory, or to heaven." *The Catholic Encyclopedia*, Vol. 8, p. 551. Pietro Parente in his *Dictionary of Dogmatic Theology*, p. 158, says that 'the particular judgment "takes place by way of internal *mental* illumination."

[3] Cf. Julius Kostlin, *The Theology of Luther*, 2 vols, (Philadelphia: Lutheran Publishing Society), *passim*.

Exegesis

Fifth, Calvin's interpretation of Scripture shows his independent spirit. In the first place, it must be affirmed that in 1534/5 Calvin had no notion of verbal inspiration. This point is made clear from the following considerations. He never quotes the Old Testament ad litteram, but always ad sensum, and he only quotes the New Testament ad litteram on one occasion, namely, when he cites the Lord's Prayer. Surely, a believer in verbal inspiration would not have been so free with Scripture. There is no doubt that for Calvin the Bible was the sole rule of faith and morals, but at this time he did not consider it verbally inspired.[1]

The second area of biblical usage which indicates the French reformer's independent spirit is his exegesis of Holy Scripture. He usually interprets the Bible historically. This exegesis of Scripture represents a new era in biblical scholarship. The ancient tradition was formulated by Augustine.[2]

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[1] In 1539 Calvin prefaces his quotation of the first commandment with these words: "Nunc Deum ipsum audiamus loquentem suis verbis." (Barth, III, 354). By 1543 the reformer had formulated a doctrine of inspiration. He speaks of the different parts of the Old Testament as "dictante Spiritu sancto compositae." (Ibid, V, 138). After comparing the prophets and the apostles, he says of the latter, "praeeunte et verba quodammodo dictante Christi Spiritu." (Ibid, p. 140). And a little later he affirms: "Quod illi fuerent certi et authentici Spiritus sancti amanuenses: et ideo eorum scripta pro Dei oraculis habenda sunt." (Ibid, p. 141). It must be remembered that in the section noted here Calvin is controverting the Roman view of the power of the Church. Against the Roman view of an infallible Church he posits the notion of an infallible Bible. It would seem, therefore, that Calvin's view of an inerrant Bible was formulated in the heat of controversy. In the final Latin edition of

corrected by Aquinas,[1] and well illustrated in the writings of the Venerable Bede.[2] For Calvin, however, the traditional method of exegesis was considered as almost sacriligious. This, at least, was his opinion in 1539;[3] and from reading the first edition of the Institutes, it is clear that what he affirmed in 1539 he believed in 1536. Schaff says in this connection :

"Calvin is the founder of modern grammatico-historical

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his work, Calvin added one other notion. He writes: "Fateor quidem Prophetis nonnullis elegans et nitidum, imo etiam splendidum esse dicendi genus: ut profanis scriptoribus non cedat eorum facundia; ac talibus exemplis voluit ostendere Spiritus sanctus non sibi defuisse eloquentiam,.." (Ibid, III, 72f.) But it is interesting to note that in 1555 when Calvin wrote his Harmony of the Gospels his exegesis did not accord with his theology. In commenting on Matthew 17:9 he says: "Quomodo Iermeniae nomen obsrepserit, me nescire fateor, nec anxie laboro: certe Ieremian nomen errore positum esse pro Zacharia (13,7), res ipsa ostendit; quia nihil tale apud Jeremiah legitur, vel etiam quod accedat." (C.R. 73, 749.) The question which this passage raises is this: Did Calvin believe that the name "Jeremiah" crept in when Matthew wrote the Gospel, or when some scribe copied it? If the former is the case, then it cannot be said that Calvin had a consistent doctrine of verbal inspiration. If the latter, then this text does not controvert the reformer's assertion in the Institutes that the Holy Spirit dictated the writing of the Bible. We are inclined to accept the former view.

2. Augustine, De Utilitate Credendi, III, Illa ergo prima significatio, qua voces significant res, pertinet ad primum sensum, qui est sensus historicus vel litteralis. Illa vero significatio qua res significatae per voces, iterum res alias significant, dicitur sensus spiritualis, qui super litteralem fundatur et eum supponit. Hic autem sensus spiritualis trifariam dividitur...Secundum ergo quadea quae sunt veteris legis, significant ea quae sunt novae legis, est sensus allegoricus; secundum vero quod ea quae in Christo sunt facta, vel in his quae Christum significant, sunt signa eorum quae nos agere debemus, est sensus moralis, prout vero significant ea quae sunt in alterna gloria, est sensus anagogicus.(P.L. 42,68)

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[1] Aquinas, Summa, "Omnis igitur Scriptura, quae Testamentum Vetus vocatur, diligenter eam nosse cupientibus quadrifaria traditur; secundum historiam, secundum aetiologiam, secundum analogiam, secundum allegoriam." I, Q. I, a. 10.

[2] Bede, In Samuelem Prophetam, Allegorica Expositio, (P.L. 91, 499).

> exegesis. He affirmed and carried out the sound and fundamental hermeneutical principle that the biblical authors, like all sensible writers, wished to convey to their readers, one definite thought in words which they could understand."[1]

On the basis of a careful study of the first three chapters of the editio princeps of the Institutes we completely agree with Schaff. The historico-grammatical method of exegesis is the prevalent one in the first edition of the Institutes. But, it is not the only one. In De lege there is one instance of allegorizing and two examples of typology.

Calvin allegorizes the Jewish sabbath. For him, "it is the shadow of the reality to come." The reality is freedom from sin. Surely, this treatment of the sabbath is allegorical. It illustrates Augustine's definition of an allegory.[2] There is no doubt that Calvin's interpretation of the sabbath is based on Augustine's exegesis.[3]

As regards typology, Calvin regarded Egypt and Pharoah as types. Their antitypes are sin and satan. Typology has a biblical basis. Paul, for example, speaks of Adam as a

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3. Cf. "Proinde affinis sacrilegio audacia est Scripturas temere huc illuc versare, et quasi in re lusoria lascivire: quod a multis iam olim factitatum est." Ioannis Calvini in Novum Testamentum Commentarii, Vol. 5, (Berolini, apud Gustavum Eichler), 1834, p.ix.

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[1] Philip Schaff, History of the Christian Church, Vol. VII, (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons), 1892, p. 532.

[2] Augustine, op. cit., "Secundum allegoriam cum docetur non ad litteram esse accipienda quaedam quae scripta sunt, sed figurate."

[3] Vide, supra, p.90 f.n.2.

type of Christ.[1] Moreover, the reformer had biblical authority for employing the term, Egypt, in this manner, since the author of the Apocalpyse wrote: "quae vocatur spiritualiter Sodoma et Eagyptus ubi Dominus eorum crucifixus est." Pharoah, however, is never used in a typological sense in the Bible. Yet, he, together with Egypt is employed typologically in the Fathers.

It is clear, then, that Calvin used any spiritual interpretation of Scripture with great care. Except in his treatment of the Jewish sabbath, he did not go beyond the bounds of Scripture. It is true to say, therefore, that the reformer interpreted Scripture historically and grammatically, and thus, as Schaff points out, became the founder of a school of biblical exegesis.

The Church

The last doctrine which reveals something of Calvin's originality is his doctrine of the Church. It is clear that many of his ideas were derived from antiquity, and others from

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1. Romans 5:14
2. Apocalypse 11:8
3. The evidence is as follows: Hilary (*ob*. 368), "Aegyptus, in quo saeculi forma est...Pharao tuus, id est diabolus..." *Tractatus in CXXXIV Psalmun*, 19, (P.L. 9, 763). Zeno (*ob*. 380, "Quantum spiritaliter intelligi datur, Egyptus mundus est iste. Pharao cum populo suo diabolus est spiritus omnis iniquitatis..." *Tractatus IV*, '*De Exodo*," (p.L. 11, 510). Isodore of Seville (*ob*. 636), "Pharao figuram hab it diaboli..." *Allegoriae Quaedam Scripturae Sacrae*, 57, (P.L. 83, 108). Bernard of Clairvaux (1153) "Per Egyptum intelligo mundum: per Pharaonem, diabolum..." *Tractatus De Ordine Vitae*, IX, (P.L. 184, 577). Rupert of Salzburg (*ob*. 718), "Egyptus est, et hoc in all parte mundi, quae vulgo vocatur Egyptus, figuratum est, qualiter vocet Deus omnem filium ex Egypto huius mundi, id est, de tenebris in admirabile lumen suum." *De Gloria et Honore Filii Hominis*, Lib. II, (P.L. 168, 1341).

Lutheran sources. We have noted the latter in chapter two of this section. The former will be indicated as we attempt to delineate the main ideas in the reformer's teachings about the Church.

There are two difficulties involved in attempting to present a systematic exposition of Calvin's doctrine of the Church in the first edition of the Institutes. The first is this: The reformer himself did not give any systematic presentation of his thought in this work. Most of his ideas about this subject are found in chapter two, but some of his doctrine appears in the first and third chapters. The second reason why Calvin's doctrine of the Church is difficult to analize is the fact that he used the term, ecclesia, for two ideas. At first sight it seems possible to make a clear cut distinction between his use of ecclesia and ecclesia catholica, but it soon becomes apparent that this distinction will not hold water. Fully realizing this fact, we shall, however, use these two categories in order to present Calvin's doctrine of the Church. In defining the Catholic Church we can do not better than to let Calvin speak for himself. He says: "…we believe in the Holy Catholic Church, that is, the number of the elect, whether they be angels or men; of men, whether dead or now living; of the living, in whichever lands they dwell or wherever they are scattered throughout the world."[1] Thus, for Calvin, the Catholic Church has a vertical as well as an horizontal dimension. Horizontally, it stretches from the beginning of time to the end of creation. Calvin is quite clear about this. He says: "There was no period from the foundation of the earth in which the Lord did not have his Church upon the earth, and there certainly will be no time, even to the consummation of the world, in which he is not going to have it."[1] From this it is clear that the Catholic Church is the sphere of God's redeeming activity. Wherever God was, is, or shall be, at work redemptively, there is the Catholic Church. This Church, then, is by definition universal in time and geographical extension.

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[1] *Vide*, *supra*, p. 187

But the Catholic Church is more than God's redeeming activity upon earth. There is in Calvin's definition a vertical dimension. The Catholic Church includes those who are in heaven. The Catholic Church is the sphere of God's activity - whatever that may be - in the beyond. Angels, and human beings who are in the process of beatification, belong to the Catholic Church.

This, then, is the Catholic Church. But Calvin is also quite clear about what this Church is not. It is not an object of our senses. It is not, therefore, the church of bricks and mortar. Neither is it an institution. It cannot be located geographically. It is impossible to circumscribe it; for to circumscribe anything is to limit it. This Church cannot be fixed in any See. It is clear that Calvin is here controverting the Roman view of the Catholic Church.

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[1] *Vide*, *supra*, p. 191.

The following synonyms which Calvin used for the term, Catholic Church, may shed some light on the meaning of this category. All of these synonyms are in *De fide*.[1] The term and its biblical source are as follows:

(1) The elect of God. Romans 8:33; Colossians 3:13.

(2) The sons of God. Romans 8:19.

(3) The people of God. This is a common phrase in both testaments.

(4) The Church of God. 1 Corinthians 1:2; Galatians 1:13 and 1 Timothy 3:15.

(5) The Mystical Body of Christ. The formula, the Body of Christ, is found twice in the New Testament, in Ephesians 4:12 and 5:30. The adjective "mystical" is not employed by New Testament writers in this sense.[2]

(6) The City of God. Hebrews 12:22; Revelation 3:12.

(7) The Tabernacle. Revelation 21:3.[3]

Although Calvin only uses the word, *congregatio*, once,[4] this is what he means when he speaks of the Church without the adjective Catholic. This is the "ecclesia eo die conveniet."[5] This ecclesia may be located geographically. This Church consists of the people of God together with their teachers.[6] This Church exists wherever the Gospel is preached and heard and the sacraments [7]administered.[8] It is clear that here

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[1] *Ibid*, p.195 and 202

[2] For an exposition of its usage in theology, see Aquinas, *Summa*, III, Q. 8, art. 3.

[3] The biblical sources are given by the translator.

[4] *Supra*, p.225, line 21

[5] *Ibid*, p.92, line 6

[6] *Ibid*, p.84, f.n. 2

[7] Baptism and the Eucharist.

[8] *Ibid*, p. 200

Calvin has an entirely different conception in mind. This Church can be localized and identified. It is the congregation, not the building or institution. It is the visible manifestation in time and place of the Catholic Church.

Calvin does not employ the terms "invisible" and "visible" in his discussion of the Church. It is obvious, however, that he had these categories in mind. The Catholic Church is invisible.[1] The local congregation is visible.

Having defined the terms employed by Calvin, and eo facto having stated what he considered the Church to be, it will now be possible to pass on to other important points in his doctrine of the Church. First, among these is the structure of the Church. As regards the Catholic Church, Christ is the head and the elect are the body. This, of course, was admitted by all. Here Thomas equates the corpus mysticum Christi with the communio electorum.

The local Church is composed of those who teach and the taught, i.e. of the clergy and laity. Calvin describes the teachers as bishops and ministers. It is important to note that he did not say, bishops or minister; neither did he say bishops and deacons. His words are: "Episcopi et ecclesiarum ministri." It is evident, then, that in 1534/5 Calvin distinguished between bishops and ministers. Both, however, had the same function, namely, preaching. It seems that at this period Calvin did not reject the Catholic concept of the bishop, but simply affirmed that his duty was primarily to teach.

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[1] Supra, p. 201, line 2f.

Calvin also accepted the traditional view that salvation was only found within the Church. For him, in the Catholic Church there cannot be but salvation. At first sight it might seem that the reformer was more papal than the pope. Such a conclusion, however, would be based on a misunderstanding of the reformer's teaching. There cannot be but salvation in the Catholic Church because this Church is the body of the elect. Calvin also emphasized the fact that salvation does not depend upon the faith, goodness, ability or stability of the believer, but upon the purpose of God and the power of Christ.[1]

It is not surprising, therefore, to find in Calvin's work the notion of _extra ecclesiam nulla salus_. Looked at from the point of view of the Invisible Church, it is obvious that outside God's sovereign election there is no salvation. To argue otherwise would be to affirm that God is subject to another power which imposes its will upon him. To be precise, Calvin's idea is best expressed by the formula _extra ecclesiam electorum nulla salus_. Still, looked at from the point of view of the visible Church, the phrase is meaningful. Since the people of God, congregated in any given place, is the visible manifestation _hic et nunc_ of the Catholic Church, there is no salvation anywhere else. For here alone the redeeming activity of God is revealed through preaching and sacraments.

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[1] _Supra_, p. 190, line 16 ff

Calvin, however, was face to face with an international institution which claimed that it was the Catholic Church. It affirmed that within it, and within it alone, the redeeming activity of God was present. The reformer rejected this idea, and affirmed that the redeeming activity of God is manifested wherever the Gospel is preached and the sacraments administered.

The first mark of the Church was and still is rather nebulous. The Roman Catholics, Anabaptists, Socinians, Lutherans, etc, all maintained that they preached the Gospel. The Roman Catholic Gospel was, of course, a little different from that preached by the Anabaptists. It has already been pointed out that the second mark of the Church, namely, the administration of the sacraments, is also nebulous. There is, however, one mark of the Church which is perfectly clear. It is this: "We also believe in the Communion of Saints, that is,that in the Catholic Church there is a mutual communication and participation of all their goods by all the elect."[1] Later in the same passage, Calvin states that this communion means generosity.

Two points should be observed about this quotation. First, Calvin employs the term, Catholic Church, in the sense of the visible Church. For surely the saints in heaven do not stand in need of worldly goods. This usage tends to confusion, since the reformer makes no attempt to explain the change of meaning. Second, a mark of the Church is generosity. In affirming that the communion of saints means generosity, Calvin manifests his originality.

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[1] Supra, p. 201

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